But whoever recollects the various thoughts that Shakſpeare has borrowed from preceding writers, will not be ſurpriſed that in a *ſimilar* ſituation, in *Macbeth*, and *King John*, he ſhould have uſed the expreſſions of an old dramatiſt, with whoſe writings he had been particularly converſant; expreſſions too, which he had before embodied in former plays: nor can, I think, theſe three inſtances much diminiſh the force of the foregoing obſervation. That it may have its full weight, I have in the preſent edition diſtinguiſhed by aſteriſks all the lines in *The Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* of which there is no trace in the old quarto plays, and which therefore I ſuppoſe to have been written by Shakſpeare. Though this has not been effected without much trouble, yet, if it ſhall tend to ſettle this long-agitated queſtion, I ſhall not conſider my labour as wholly thrown away.

Perhaps a ſimilar coincidency in *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.* may be urged in oppoſition to my hypotheſis relative to that play. "Lean famine, quartering ſteel, and climbing fire," are in that piece called the attendants on the brave lord Talbot; as in Shakſpeare's *King Henry V.* "famine, ſword, and fire, are leaſh'd in like hounds, crouching under the martial Henry for employment." If this image had proceeded from our author's imagination, this coincidency might perhaps countenance the ſuppoſition that he had ſome hand at leaſt in that ſcene of *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.* where theſe attendants on war are perſonified. But that is not the caſe; for the fact is, that Shakſpeare was furniſhed with this imagery by a paſſage in *Holinſhed*, as the author of the old play of *King Henry VI.* was by *Hall's* Chronicle: "The Goddeſſe of warre, called Bellonas—hath theſe three hand-maides ever of neceſſitie attendynge on her; *bloud*, *fyre*, and *famine*[8]."

In our preſent inquiry, it is undoubtedly a very ſtriking circumſtance that *almoſt* all the paſſages in The *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* which reſemble others in Shakſpeare's undiſputed plays, are not found in the original pieces in quarto, but in his *Rifacimento* publiſhed in

[8] Hall's *Chron.* Henry VI. fol. xxix.

folio.

folio. As theſe *Reſemblances* to his other plays, and a peculiar Shakſpearian phraſeology, aſcertain a *conſiderable portion* of theſe diſputed dramas to be the production of Shakſpeare, ſo on the other hand certain paſſages which are *diſcordant* (in matters of fact) from his other plays, are proved by this *Diſcordancy*, not to have been compoſed by him; and theſe diſcordant paſſages, being found in the original quarto plays, prove that thoſe pieces were compoſed by another writer.

Thus, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 303,) Sir John Grey is ſaid to have loſt "his life in quarrel of the houſe of *York*;" and king Edward ſtating the claim of his widow, whom he afterwards married, mentions, that his lands after the battle of Saint Albans (February 17, 1460-1) "were ſeized on by the conqueror." Whereas in fact they were ſeized on by Edward himſelf after the battle of Towton, (in which he was conqueror,) March 29, 1461. The conqueror at the ſecond battle of Saint Albans, the battle here meant, was Queen Margaret. This ſtatement was taken from the old quarto play; and, from careleſſneſs was adopted by Shakſpeare without any material alteration. But at a ſubſequent period when he wrote his *King Richard III.* he was under a neceſſity of carefully examining the Engliſh chronicles; and in that play, Act I. ſc. iii. he has repreſented this matter truly as it was:

"In all which time, you, and your huſband Grey,
"Were *factious for the houſe of Lancaſter*;—
"(And, Rivers, ſo were you;)—Was not your huſband
"In Margaret's battle at Saint Albans ſlain?"

It is called "Margaret's battle," becauſe ſhe was there victorious.

An equally deciſive circumſtance is furniſhed by the ſame play. In *The* Third *Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 320.) Warwick propoſes to marry his *eldeſt* daughter (*Iſabella*) to Edward prince of Wales, and the propoſal is accepted by Edward; and in a ſubſequent ſcene Clarence ſays, he will marry the *younger* daughter (*Anne*). In theſe particulars Shakſpeare has implicitly followed the elder drama. But the fact is, that the prince of Wales married Anne the *younger* daughter of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of

Clarence married the *elder*, Iſabella. Though the author of *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke*, &c. was here inaccurate, and though Shakſpeare too negligently followed his ſteps,—when he wrote his *King Richard III.* he had gained better information; for there Lady ANNE is rightly repreſented as the widow of the prince of Wales, and the *youngeſt* daughter of the earl of Warwick:

" Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,
" And leave the world to me to buſtle in.
" For then I'll marry Warwick's *youngeſt* daughter;
" What though I kill'd her huſband, and her father," &c.

i. e. Edward prince of Wales, and king Henry VI.

King Richard III. Act I. ſc. i.

I have ſaid that certain paſſages in *The Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.* are aſcertained to be Shakſpeare's by a peculiar phraſeology. This peculiar phraſeology, without a ſingle exception, diſtinguiſhes ſuch parts of theſe plays as are found in the folio, and not in the *elder* quarto dramas, of which the phraſeology, as well as the verſification, is of a different colour. This obſervation applies not only to the new original matter produced by Shakſpeare, but to his alteration of the old. Our author in his undoubted compoſitions has fallen into an inaccuracy, of which I do not recollect a ſimilar inſtance in the works of any other dramatiſt. When he has occaſion to quote the ſame paper twice, (not from memory, but *verbatim*,) from negligence he does not always attend to the words of the paper which he has occaſion to quote, but makes one of the perſons of the drama recite them with variations, though he holds the very paper quoted before his eyes. Thus, in *All's well that ends well*, Act V. ſc. iii. Helena ſays,

" —here's your letter; This it ſays:
" *When from my finger you can get this ring,*
" *And are by me with child,*"—

Yet, as I have obſerved in Vol. IV. p. 55, n. 6. Helena in Act III. ſc. ii. *reads* this very letter aloud, and there the

the words are different, and in plain proſe: "When thou canſt get the ring from my finger, which never ſhall come off, and ſhew me a child begotten of thy body," &c. In like manner, in the firſt ſcene of *The Second Part of King Henry VI.* Suffolk preſents to the duke of Gloſter, protector of the realm, the articles of peace concluded between France and England. The protector begins to read the articles, but when he has proceeded no further than theſe words,—"Item, that the *dutchy* of Anjou and the *county* of Maine ſhall be releaſed and delivered to the king her father,"—he is ſuddenly taken ill, and rendered incapable of proceeding: on which the biſhop of Wincheſter is called upon to read the remainder of the paper. He accordingly reads the whole of the article, of which the duke of Gloſter had only read a part: "Item, *It is further agreed between them*, that *the dutchies of Anjou and Maine* ſhall be releaſed and delivered *over* to the king her father, and ſhe ſent," &c. Now though Maine in our old chronicles is ſometimes called a county, and ſometimes a dutchy, yet words cannot thus change their form under the eyes of two readers: nor do they in the original play, entitled *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes*, &c for there the article as recited by the protector correſponds with that recited by the biſhop, without the moſt minute variation. "Item, It is further agreed between them, that the *dutchies of Anjou and of Maine* ſhall be releaſed and delivered *over* to the king her father, and ſhe ſent," &c. Thus in the old play ſays the duke, and ſo ſays the cardinal after him. This one circumſtance, in my apprehenſion, is of ſuch weight, that though it ſtood alone, it might decide the preſent queſtion. Our author has fallen into a ſimilar inaccuracy in the fourth ſcene of the ſame act, where the duke of York recites from a paper the queſtions that had been put to the Spirit, relative to the duke of Suffolk, Somerſet[9], &c.

Many minute marks of Shakſpeare's hand may be traced in ſuch parts of the old plays as he has new-modelled. I at preſent recollect one that muſt ſtrike every

[9] See p. 141, n. 9.

reader who is converſant with his writings. He very frequently uſes adjectives adverbially; and this kind of phraſeology, if not peculiar to him, is found more frequently in his writings than thoſe of any of his contemporaries. Thus,—"I am myſelf *indifferent* honeſt;"—"as *diſhonourable* ragged as an old faced ancient;"—*equal* ravenous;"—"leaves them *inviſible*[1];" &c. In *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke*, &c. the king, having determined to marry Lady Grey, injoins his brothers to uſe her *honourably*. But in Shakſpeare's play the words are,—"uſe her *honourable*." So, in *Julius Cæſar*:

"Young man, thou could'ſt not die more *honourable*."

In like manner, in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* we find this line:

"Is either ſlain, or wounded *dangerous*."

but in the old play the words are, "wounded *dangerouſly*."

In the ſame play the word *handkerchief* is uſed; but in the correſponding ſcene in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* (p. 270.) Shakſpeare has ſubſtituted the northern term *napkin*, which occurs ſo often in his works, in its room.

The next circumſtance to which I wiſh to call the attention of thoſe who do not think the preſent inveſtigation wholly incurious, is, the *Tranſpoſitions* that are found in theſe plays. In the preceding notes I have frequently obſerved that not only ſeveral lines, but ſometimes whole ſcenes[2], were tranſpoſed by Shakſpeare.

In p. 270, a Meſſenger, giving an account of the death of the duke of York, ſays,

"Environed he was with many foes;
"And ſtood againſt them, as the hope of Troy
"Againſt the Greeks, that would have enter'd Troy.
"But Hercules himſelf muſt yield to odds;"—

When this paſſage was printed, not finding any trace

[1] See Vol. V. p. 233, n. 3; Vol. IV. p. 564, n. 6; Vol. III. p. 441, n. 2.

[2] See p. 335, n. 9; p. 340, n. 6; p. 344, n. 5.

of

of the laſt three lines in the correſponding part of the old play, I marked them inadvertently as Shakſpeare's original compoſition; but I afterwards found that he had borrowed them from a ſubſequent ſcene on a quite different ſubject, in which Henry, taking leave of Warwick, ſays to him,

"Farewell my Hector, and *my Troy's true hope!*"

and the laſt line, "But Hercules," &c. is ſpoken by Warwick near the concluſion of the piece, after he is mortally wounded in the battle of Barnet.

So, in *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*, &c. after the duke has ſlain Clifford, he ſays,

"*Now, Lancaſter, ſit ſure:*—thy ſinews ſhrink."

Shakſpeare has not made uſe of that line in that place, but availed himſelf of it afterwards, where Edward brings forth Warwick wounded; *King Henry VI.* P. III. Act V. ſc. ii.

"*Now*, Mountague, *ſit faſt:* I ſeek for thee," &c.

Many other tranſpoſitions may be traced in theſe plays, to which I ſhall only refer in a note[3].

Such tranſpoſitions as I have noticed, could never have ariſen from any careleſſneſs or inaccuracy of tranſcribers or copyiſts; and therefore are to be added to the many other circumſtances which prove that *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*, as exhibited in the folio, were formed from the materials of a preceding writer.

It is alſo obſervable, that many lines are *repeated* in Shakſpeare's *Second and Third Part of King Henry VI.*[4], but no ſuch repetitions are found in the old quarto plays. The repetition undoubtedly aroſe from Shakſpeare's not always following his original ſtrictly, but introducing expreſſions which had ſtruck him in other parts of the old plays; and afterwards, forgetting that he had before uſed ſuch expreſſions, he ſuffered them to remain in their original places alſo.

[3] See p. 193, n. 9; p. 211, n. 5; p. 245, n. 8; p. 330, n. 4; p. 354, n. 8, and n. 9; p. 359, n. 9.

[4] See p. 287, n. 6; p. 301, n. 9; p. 313, n. 2; p. 317, n. *.

Another proof that Shakſpeare was not the author of *The Contention of the two houſes*, &c. is furniſhed by the inconſiſtencies into which he has fallen, by ſometimes adhering to, and ſometimes deviating from, his original: an inaccuracy which may be ſometimes obſerved in his undiſputed plays.

One of the moſt remarkable inſtances of this kind of inconſiſtency is found in *The Second Part of K. Henry VI.* p. 217, where he makes Henry ſay,

"I'll ſend ſome holy biſhop to entreat," &c.

a circumſtance which he took from Holinſhed's Chronicle; whereas in the old play no mention is made of a biſhop on this occaſion. The king there ſays, he will himſelf come and parley with the rebels, and in the mean time he orders Clifford and Buckingham to gather an army. In a ſubſequent ſcene, however, Shakſpeare forgot the new matter which he had introduced in the former; and *Clifford* and *Buckingham* only parley with Cade, &c. *conformably to the old play*[5].

In *Romeo and Juliet* he has fallen into a ſimilar inaccuracy. In the poem on which that tragedy is founded, Romeo, in his interview with the Friar, after ſentence of baniſhment has been pronounced againſt him, is deſcribed as paſſionately lamenting his fate in the following terms:

"Firſt *nature* did he blame, the *author of his life*,
"In which his joys had been ſo ſcant, and ſorrows aye ſo rife;
"The time and place of *birth* he fiercely did reprove;
"He cryed out with open mouth againſt *the ſtars above*.—
"On *fortune* eke he *rail'd*," &c.

The friar afterwards reproves him for want of patience. In forming the correſponding ſcene Shakſpeare has *omitted* Romeo's invective againſt his fate, but inadvertently copied the friar's remonſtrance *as it lay before him*:

"Why *rail'ſt* thou on thy birth, the heaven, and earth?"

[5] See alſo p. 139, n. 6; p. 316, n. 6; and p. 317, n. *.

If

If the following ſhould be conſidered as a trifling circumſtance, let it be remembered, that circumſtances which, ſeparately conſidered, may appear unimportant, ſometimes acquire ſtrength, when united to other proofs of more efficacy: in my opinion, however, what I ſhall now mention is a circumſtance of conſiderable weight. It is obſervable that the prieſt concerned with Eleanor Cobham Dutcheſs of Gloceſter, in certain pretended operations of magick, for which ſhe was tried, is called by Hall, John *Hum*. So is he named in *The firſt part of the Contention of the two Houſes of Yorke*, &c. the original, as I ſuppoſe, of *The* Second *Part of K. Henry VI.* Our author probably thinking the name harſh or ridiculous, ſoftened it to *Hume*; and by that name this prieſt is called in *his* play printed in folio. But in Holinſhed he is named *Hun*; and ſo undoubtedly, or perhaps ſometimes *Hune*, he would have been called in the original quarto play juſt mentioned, if Shakſpeare had been the author of it; for Holinſhed and not Hall was his guide, as I have ſhewn inconteſtably in a note on *King Henry V.* Vol. V. p. 40. But Hall was undoubtedly the hiſtorian who had been conſulted by the original writer of *The Contentton of the two Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*; as appears from his having taken a line from thence, "That *Alexander Iden, an eſquire of Kent*[6]," and from the ſcene in which Cardinal Beaufort is exhibited on his death-bed. One part of the particular deſcription of the Cardinal's death and dying words, in the old quarto play, is founded on a paſſage in Hall, which Holinſhed, though in general a ſervile copyiſt of the former chronicler, has omitted. The paſſage is this. "Dr. John Baker, his pryvie counſailer and hys chapellayn, wrote, that lying on his death-bed he [Cardinal Beaufort] ſaid theſe words: 'Why ſhould I dye, havyng ſo much riches? If the whole realme would ſave my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye! will not death be hyered, nor will money

[6] See Hall, Henry V. fol. lxxix. Holinſhed ſays, "a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Iden, awaited ſo his time," &c.

do

do nothynge?" From this the writer of the old play formed theſe lines:

O death, if thou will let me live
But one whole year, I'll give thee as much gold
As will purchaſe ſuch another iſland.

which Shakſpeare new-modelled thus:

If thou be'ſt death, I'll give thee England's treaſure,
Enough to purchaſe ſuch another iſland,
So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.

If Shakſpeare had been the author of *The firſt part of the Contention*, &c. finding in his Holinſhed the name *Hun*, he would either have preſerved it, or ſoftened it to *Hune*. Working on the old play, where he found the name of *Hum*, which ſounded ridiculous to his ear, he changed it to *Hume*. But whoever *the* original writer of the old play was, having uſed the name of *Hum*, he muſt have formed his play on Hall's Chronicle, where *alone* that name is found. Shakſpeare therefore having made Holinſhed, and not Hall, his guide, could not have been the writer of it.

It may be remarked, that by the alteration of this prieſt's name he has deſtroyed a rhyme intended by the author of the original play, where Sir John begins a ſoliloquy with this jingling line:

"Now, Sir John *Hum*, no word but *mum*:
"Seal up your lips, for you muſt ſilent be."

which Shakſpeare has altered thus:

"—But how now, Sir John *Hume*?
"Seal up your lips, and give no words but *mum*.

Lines rhiming in the middle and end, ſimilar to that above quoted, are often found in our old Engliſh plays, (previous to the time of Shakſpeare,) and are generally put into the mouths of prieſts and friars.

It has already been obſerved, that in the original play on which *The* Second *Part of King Henry VI.* is founded, "*Abradas*, the *Macedonian* pirate," is mentioned.

This

This hero does not appear in Shakſpeare's new-modelled play, "*Bargulus*, the ſtrong *Illyrian* pirate," being introduced in his room. *Abradas* is ſpoken of (as Mr. Steevens has remarked) by Robert Greene, the very perſon whom I ſuppoſe to have been one of the joint authors of the original plays, in a pamphlet, entitled *Penelope's Web*, 1589:—"*Abradas*, the great *Macedonean pirate*, thought every one had a letter of mart that bare ſayles in the ocean." Of this pirate or his atchievements, however celebrated he may have been, I have not found the ſlighteſt trace in *any book* whatſoever, except that above quoted: a ſingular circumſtance, which appears to me ſtrongly to confirm my hypotheſis on the preſent ſubject; and to ſupport my interpretation of Greene's words in his *Groatſworth of Witte*, in a former part of the preſent diſquiſition.

However this may be, there are certainly very good grounds for believing that *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter*, &c. *and the True Tragedie of Richarde duke of Yorke*, &c. were written by the author or authors of the old *King John*, printed in 1591.

In *The true Tragedie*, &c. we find the following lines:

"*Let England be true within itſelf*,
"We need not France, nor any alliance with her."

The firſt of theſe lines is found, with a very minute variation, in the old *King John*, where it runs thus:

"Let England *live but* true within itſelf,—".

Nor is this the only coincidence. In the deſervedly admired ſcene in which Cardinal Beaufort's death is repreſented, in the original play, (as well as in Shakſpeare's *Second Part of King Henry VI.*) he is called upon to hold up his hand, as a proof of his confidence in God:

"Lord Cardinal,
"If thou dieſt aſſured of heavenly bliſſe,
"Hold up thy hand, and make ſome ſign to us.
[*The Cardinal dies.*
"O ſee, he dies, and makes no ſign at all:
"O God, forgive his ſoule!"

I quote

I quote from the original play.—It is remarkable that a ſimilar proof is demanded in the old play of *King John* alſo, when that king is expiring:

" Then, good my lord, if you forgive them all,
" Lift up your hand, in token you forgive."

Again:

" —— in token of thy faith,
" And ſigne thou dieſt the ſervant of the Lord,
" Lift up thy hand, that we may witneſſe here
" Thou dieſt the ſervant of our Saviour Chriſt.—
" Now joy betide thy ſoul!"

This circumſtance appears to me to add conſiderable ſupport to my conjecture.

One point only remains. It may be aſked, if *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.* was not written by Shakſpeare, why did Heminge and Condell publiſh it with the reſt of his works? The only way that I can account for their having done ſo, is by ſuppoſing, either that their memory at the end of thirty years was not accurate concerning our author's pieces, (as appears indeed evidently from their omitting *Troilus and Creſſida*, which was not recollected by them, till the whole of the firſt folio, and even the table of contents, (which is always the laſt work of the preſs,) had been printed; or, that they imagined the inſertion of this hiſtorical drama was neceſſary to underſtanding the two pieces that follow it; or laſtly, that, Shakſpeare, for the advantage of his own theatre, having written a few lines in *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.* after his own *Second* and *Third* Part had been played, they conceived this a ſufficient warrant for attributing it, along with the others, to him, in the general collection of his works. If Shakſpeare was the author of any part of this play, perhaps the ſecond and the following ſcenes of the fourth act were his; which are for the moſt part written in rhyme, and appear to me ſomewhat of a different complexion from the reſt of the play. Nor is this the only inſtance of their proceeding on this ground; for is it poſſible to conceive that they could have

have any other reaſon for giving *Titus Andronicus* a place in their edition of Shakſpeare's works, than his having written twenty or thirty lines in that piece, or having retouched a few verſes of it, if indeed he did ſo much?

Shakſpeare's referring in the Epilogue to *K. Henry V.* which was produced in 1599, to theſe three parts of *King Henry VI.* of which the firſt, by whom ſoever it was written, appears from the teſtimony of a contemporary to have been exhibited with great applauſe[7]; and the two latter, having been, as I conceive, eight years before new-modelled and almoſt re-written by our author, we may be confident were performed with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; his ſupplicating the favour of the audience to his new play of *King Henry V.* "*for the ſake*" of theſe old *popular* dramas, which were ſo cloſely connected [illegible] in the compoſition of which, as they had for many years been exhibited, he had ſo conſiderable a ſhare; the connexion between the laſt ſcene of *King Henry VI.* and the firſt ſcene of *K. Richard III.*; the Shakſpearian diction, verſification, and figures, by which the *Second* and *Third Part of King Henry VI.* are diſtinguiſhed; "the eaſineſs of expreſſion and the fluency of numbers," which, it is acknowledged, are found here, and were poſſeſſed by no other author of that age; all theſe circumſtances are accounted for by the theory now ſtated, and all the objections[8] that have been founded upon them, in my apprehenſion, vaniſh away.

On the other hand, the entry on the Stationers' books of the old play, entitled *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, &c. without the name of the author; that piece, and *The true Tragedie of Richarde duke of Yorke*, &c. being printed in 1600, anonymouſly; their being founded on the Chronicle of *Hall*, who was not Shakſpeare's hiſtorian, and repreſented by the ſervants of Lord Pembroke, by whom

[7] See p. 390, of this Diſſertation.

[8] See theſe ſeveral objections ſtated by Dr. Johnſon in the notes at the end of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*

none

none of his unconteſted dramas were repreſented; the colour, diction, and verſification of theſe old plays; the various circumſtances, lines, and ſpeeches, that are found in them, and not in our author's new-modification of them, as publiſhed in folio by his original editors; the reſemblances that have been noticed between his other works and ſuch parts of theſe dramas as are *only* exhibited in their folio edition; the diſcordances (in matters of fact) between certain parts of the old plays printed in quarto and Shakſpeare's undoubted performances; the tranſpoſitions that he has made in theſe pieces; the repetitions, and the peculiar Shakſpearian inaccuracies, and phraſeology, which may be traced in the folio, and not in the old quarto plays; theſe and other circumſtances, which have been ſtated in the foregoing pages, form, when united, ſuch a body of argument and proofs, in ſupport of my hypotheſis, as appears to me, (though I will not venture to aſſert that "the probation bears no hinge nor loop to hang a doubt on,) to lead directly to the door of *truth*."

It is obſervable that ſeveral portions of the Engliſh Hiſtory had been dramatized *before* the time of Shakſpeare. Thus, we have *King John* in two parts, by an anonymous writer; *Edward I.* by George Peele; *Edward II.* by Chriſtopher Marlowe; *Edward III.* anonymous; *Henry IV.* containing the depoſition of *Richard II.* and the acceſſion of *Henry* to the crown, anonymous[8]; *Henry V.* and *Richard III.* both by anonymous authors[9]. Is it not then highly probable, that the *whole* of the ſtory of *Henry VI.* had alſo been brought upon the ſcene? and that the firſt of the plays now in queſtion, formerly (as I believe) called *The hiſtorical play of King Henry VI.* and now named *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.*, as well as *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke*, &c. (which three pieces comprehend the entire reign of that king from his birth to his death,)

[8] See Vol. V. p. 4, n. 1.

[9] Entered on the Stationers' books in 1594.

were

were the compoſition of ſome of the authors, who had produced the hiſtorical dramas above enumerated?

In conſequence of an haſty and inconſiderate opinion formed by Mr. Pope, without any minute examination of the ſubject, *K. John* in two parts, printed in 1591, and *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and printed in 1607, paſſed for half a century for the compoſitions of Shakſpeare. Further inquiries have ſhown that they were the productions of earlier writers; and perhaps a more profound inveſtigation of this ſubject than I have been able to make, may hereafter prove deciſively, that the *firſt* of the three *Henries* printed in folio, and both the parts of *The Whole Contention of the two famous houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, as exhibited in quarto, and printed in 1600, ought to be claſſed in the ſame predicament with the two old plays above mentioned. For my own part, if it ſhould ever be thought proper to reprint the old dramas on which Shakſpeare founded ſome of his plays, which were publiſhed in two volumes a few years ago, I have no doubt that *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of the duke of Yorke*, &c. ſhould be added to the number.

Gildon ſomewhere ſays, that "in a converſation between Shakſpeare and Ben Jonſon, Ben aſked him the reaſon why he wrote his hiſtorical plays." Our author (we are told) replied, that "finding the nation generally very ignorant of hiſtory, he wrote them in order to inſtruct the people in that particular." This anecdote, like many other traditional ſtories, ſtands on a very weak foundation; or to ſpeak more juſtly, it is certainly a fiction. The malignant Ben does indeed, in his *Devil's an Aſs*, 1616, ſneer at our author's hiſtorical pieces, which for twenty years preceding had been in high reputation, and probably were *then* the only hiſtorical dramas that had poſſeſſion of the theatre; but from the liſt above given, it is clear that Shakſpeare was not the *firſt* who dramatized our old chronicles; and that the principal events of the Engliſh Hiſtory were familiar to the ears of his

his audience, before he commenced a writer for the ſtage[1]: though undoubtedly at this day whatever knowledge of our annals is diſperſed among the people, is derived from the frequent exhibition of our author's hiſtorical plays.

[1] This point is eſtabliſhed not only by the liſt referred to, but by a paſſage in a pamphlet already quoted, entitled *Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Devil*, written by Thomas Naſhe, quarto, 1592: "Whereas the afternoone being the eldeſt time of the day, wherein men that are their owne maſters (as gentlemen of the Court, the Innes of court, and the number of captaines and ſoldiers about London) do wholly beſtow themſelves upon pleaſure, and that pleaſure they divide (how virtuouſly it ſkilles not,) into gaming, following [illegible], drinking, or *ſeeing a play*; is it not then better, ſince it foure extreames all the world cannot keepe them but they will chooſe one, that they ſhould betake them to the leaſt, which is *Playes*? Nay, what if I prove playes to be no extreame, but a [illegible] exerciſe of vertue? Firſt, for the *ſubject* of them; *for the moſt part* [illegible] *borrowed* out of our ENGLISH CHRONICLES, wherein our forefathers valiant actes, that have been long buried in ruſtic brauncs and worme eaten bookes, are revived, and they themſelves raiſed from the grave of oblivion, and brought to plead their aged honours in open preſence; than which, what can be a ſharper reproofe to theſe degenerate dayes of ours?"

After an elogium on the brave Lord Talbot, and on the actor who had perſonated him in a popular play of that time, "before ten thouſand ſpectators at the leaſt;" (which has already been printed in a former page,) and after obſerving "what a glorious thing it is to have King Henry the Fifth repreſented on the ſtage, leading the French king priſoner, and forcing both him and the Dolphin to ſwear fealty,"—the writer adds theſe words:

"In playes, all couſenages, all cunning drifts, over-guilded with outward holineſſe, all ſtratagems of warre, all the canker-wormes that breed in the ruſt of peace, are moſt lively anatomized. They ſhew the ill ſucceſſe of treaſon, the fall of haſty climbers, *the wretched end of uſurpers, the miſerie of civil diſſention*, and how juſt God is evermore in puniſhing *murder*. And to prove every one of theſe allegations, could I propound the circumſtances *of this play and that*, if I meant to handle this theame otherwiſe than *obiter*."

It is highly probable that the words, "*the miſerie of civil diſſention*," allude to the very plays which are the ſubjects of the preſent diſquiſition, *The firſt part of the Contention of the two houſes*, &c. and *The true Tragedie of Richarde duke of Yorke*; as, by "the wretched end of *Uſurpers*", and the juſtice of God in "*puniſhing murder*," old plays on the ſubject of *King Richard III.* and that of *Hamlet*, prior to thoſe of Shakſpeare, were, I believe, alluded to.

He

He certainly did not conſider writing on fables that had already been formed into dramas, as any derogation from his fame; if indeed fame was ever an object of his thoughts. We know that plays on the ſubjects of *Meaſure for Meaſure*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *King John*, *King Richard II.* *King Henry IV.* *King Henry V.* *King Richard III.* *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and, I ſtrongly ſuſpect, on thoſe of *Hamlet*, *Timon of Athens*, *and Julius Cæſar*[2], exiſted before he commenced a dramatick author; and perhaps in proceſs of time it may be found, that many of the fables of his *other* plays alſo had been unſkilfully treated, and produced upon the ſtage, by preceding writers.

Such are the only lights that I am able to throw on this very dark ſubject. The arguments which I have ſtated have entirely ſatisfied my own mind; whether they are entitled to the ſame conviction to the minds of others, I ſhall not preſume to determine. I produce them, however, with the more confidence, as they have the approbation of one who has given ſuch deciſive proofs of his taſte and knowledge, by aſcertaining the extent of *Shakſpeare's learning*, that I have no doubt his thoughts on the preſent queſtion alſo, will have that weight with the publick to which they are undoubtedly entitled. It is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that I mean my friend Dr. Farmer; who many years ago delivered it as his opinion, that theſe plays were not written *originally* by Shakſpeare. MALONE.

[2] See *An Attempt to aſcertain the order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, Vol. I.

KING RICHARD III.

Perſons Repreſented.

King Edward *the Fourth.*
Edward, *Prince of* Wales, *afterwards* K. Edward V. } *Sons to the king.*
Richard, *duke of* York, }
George, *duke of* Clarence,
Richard, *duke of* Gloſter, *afterwards* King Richard III. } *Brothers to the king.*
A young ſon of Clarence.
Henry, *earl of* Richmond, *afterwards* King Henry VII.
Cardinal Bourchier, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.
Archbiſhop of York. *Biſhop of* Ely.
Duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Norfolk: *Earl of* Surrey, *his ſon.*
Earl Rivers, *brother to* K. Edward's Queen:
Marquis of Dorſet, *and Lord* Grey, *her ſons.*
Earl of Oxford.
Lord Haſtings.
Lord Stanley.
Lord Lovel.
Sir Thomas Vaughan. *Sir* Richard Ratcliff.
Sir William Cateſby. *Sir* James Tyrrel.
Sir James Blount. *Sir* Walter Herbert.
Sir Robert Brakenbury, *Lieutenant of the* Tower.
Chriſtopher Urſwick, *a Prieſt. Another Prieſt.*
Lord Mayor of London. *Sheriff of* Wiltſhire.

Elizabeth, *Queen of* K. Edward IV.
Margaret, *widow of* K. Henry VI.
Dutcheſs of York, *mother to* K. Edward IV. Clarence, *and* Gloſter.
Lady Anne, *widow of* Edward *Prince of* Wales, *ſon to* K. Henry VI.; *afterwards married to the duke of* Gloſter.
A young daughter of Clarence.

Lords, and other Attendants; two Gentlemen, a Purſuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Meſſengers, Ghoſts, Soldiers, &c.

SCENE, England.

LIFE AND DEATH OF KING RICHARD III[1].

ACT I. SCENE I.

London. *A Street.*

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Now is the winter of our diſcontent[2]
Made glorious ſummer by this ſun of York[3];

And

[1] This tragedy, though it is called the Life and Death of this prince, comprizes, at moſt, but the laſt eight years of his time; for it opens with George duke of Clarence being clapped up in the Tower, which happened in the beginning of the year 1477; and cloſes with the death of Richard at Bolworth field, which battle was fought on the 22d of Auguſt, in the year 1485. THEOBALD.

It appears that ſeveral dramas on the preſent ſubject had been written before Shakſpeare attempted it. See the notes at the concluſion of this play, which was firſt entered at Stationers' Hall by Andrew Wiſe, Oct. 20, 1597, under the title of *The Tragedie of King Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence.* Before this, viz. Aug. 15th, 1586, was entered, *A Tragical report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad.* It may be neceſſary to remark that the words, *ſong, ballad, book, enterlude* and *play*, were often ſynonymouſly uſed. STEEV.

This play was written, I imagine, in the ſame year in which it was firſt printed,—1597. The *Legend of King Richard III.* by Francis Seagars, was printed in the firſt edition of *the Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, 1559, and in that of 1575; and 1587, but Shakſpeare does not appear to be indebted to it. In a ſubſequent edition of that book printed in 1610, the old legend was omitted, and a new one inſerted, by Richard Nichols, who has very freely copied the play before us. In 1597, when this tragedy was publiſhed, Nichols, as Mr. Warton has obſerved, was but thirteen years old. *Hiſt. of Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 267.

The real length of time in this piece is fourteen years; (not eight years, as Mr. Theobald ſuppoſed;) for the ſecond ſcene commences with the funeral of King Henry VI. who was murdered on the 21ſt of May, 1471. The impriſonment of Clarence, which is repreſented previouſly in the firſt ſcene, did not in fact take place till 1477-8. MALONE.

[2] — *the winter of our diſcontent*—] So, in an old play entitled *Wily Beguil'd*:

"Preſaging ſome good future hap ſhall fall,
"After theſe *bluſt'ring blaſts of diſcontent.*"

Wily

And all the clouds, that lowr'd upon our houſe,
In the deep boſom of the ocean bury'd.
Now are our brows bound with victorious wreaths;
Our bruiſed arms hung up for monuments;
Our ſtern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful meaſures.
Grim-viſag'd war hath ſmooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now,—inſtead of mounting barbed ſteeds[4],
To fright the ſouls of fearful adverſaries,—
He capers[5] nimbly in a lady's chamber,
To the laſcivious pleaſing of a lute.
But I,—that am not ſhap'd for ſportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glaſs;
I, that am rudely ſtamp'd, and want love's majeſty,
To ſtrut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,

Wily beguil'd had appeared before 1596, being mentioned by Naſhe in a pamphlet entitled *Have with you to Saffron Walden*, which was publiſhed in that year. MALONE.

3 — *this ſun of York;*] Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a ſun*, in memory of the *three ſuns*, which are ſaid to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancaſtrians at Mortimer's Croſs. STEEVENS.

See p. 268, n. 2. MALONE.

4 *Our ſtern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,*
Our dreadful marches to delightful meaſures.
Grim-viſag'd war hath ſmooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now,—inſtead of mounting barbed ſteeds, &c.] Shakſpeare ſeems to have had the following paſſage from Lily's *Alexander and Campaſpe*, 1584, before him, when he wrote theſe lines: "Is the warlike ſound of drum and trump turn'd to the ſoft noiſe of lyre and *lute?* The neighing of *barbed ſteeds*, whoſe loudneſs filled the air with terror, and whoſe breaths dimned the ſun with ſmoak, converted to delicate tunes, and amorous glances?" &c. REED.

The *Meaſures* were in our authour's time a ſpecies of dance. See Vol. II. p. 406, n. 4. A *barbed* ſteed is a horſe covered with a capariſon or trappings. *Barbed* and *barded* are (as Mr. Steevens has ſuggeſted) ſynonymous; or rather, *barbed* is a corruption of *barded*. See "A *Barbed* horſe," and "*Bardes*," in Minſheu's DICT. 1617, the latter of which he defines "*horſe-trappings.*" MALONE.

5 *He* capers—] War *capers*. This is poetical, though a little harſh; if it be York that capers, the antecedent is at ſuch a diſtance, that it is almoſt forgotten. JOHNSON.

Cheated of feature by diſſembling nature[6],
Deform'd, unfiniſh'd, ſent before my time
Into this breathing world, ſcarce half made up,
And that ſo lamely and unfaſhionable,
That dogs bark at me, as I halt by them;—
Why I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight to paſs away the time;
Unleſs to ſpy my ſhadow in the ſun,
And deſcant on mine own deformity[7]:
And therefore,—ſince I cannot prove a lover[8],
To entertain theſe fair well-ſpoken days,—
I am determined to prove a villain,

[6] *Cheated of feature by* diſſembling *nature,*] By *diſſembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another: but nature that puts together things of a diſſimilar kind, as a brave ſoul and a deformed body. WARBURTON.

Diſſembling is here put very licentiouſly for *fraudful, deceitful.* JOHNSON.

I once thought that Dr. Johnſon's interpretation was the true one. *Diſſimulation* neceſſarily includes *fraud*, and this might have been ſufficient to induce Shakſpeare to uſe the two words as ſynonymous, though fraud certainly may exiſt without diſſimulation. But the following lines in the old *K. John*, 1591, which our authour muſt have carefully read, were perhaps in his thoughts, and ſeem rather in favour of Dr. Warburton's interpretation:

"Can *nature* ſo *diſſemble* in her frame,
"To make the one ſo like as like may be,
"And in the other print no character
"To challenge any mark of true deſcent?

Feature is uſed here, as in other pieces of the ſame age, for *beauty* in general. See Vol. VII. p. 484, n. 6. MALONE.

[7] *And* deſcant *on mine own deformity:*] *Deſcant* is a term in muſick, ſignifying in general that kind of harmony wherein one part is broken and formed into a kind of paraphraſe on the other. The propriety and elegance of the above figure, without ſuch an idea of the nature of *deſcant*, could not be diſcerned. SIR J. HAWKINS.

That this is the original meaning of the term, is certain. But I believe the word is here uſed in its ſecondary and colloquial ſenſe, without any reference to muſick. MALONE.

[8] *And therefore,—ſince I cannot prove a lover,*] Shakſpeare very diligently inculcates, that the wickedneſs of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that roſe at the compariſon of his own perſon with others, and which incited him to diſturb the pleaſures that he could not partake. JOHNSON.

And hate the idle pleaſures[9] of theſe days.
Plots have I laid, inductions dangerous[1],
By drunken propheſies, libels, and dreams,
To ſet my brother Clarence, and the king,
In deadly hate the one againſt the other:
And, if king Edward be as true and juſt[2],
As I am ſubtle, falſe, and treacherous,
This day ſhould Clarence cloſely be mew'd up;
About a prophecy, which ſays—that G
Of Edward's heirs the murderer ſhall be.
Dive, thoughts, down to my ſoul! here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE, *guarded, and* BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day: What means this armed guard,
That waits upon your grace?

Clar. His majeſty,
Tendering my perſon's ſafety, hath appointed
This conduct to convey me to the Tower.

Glo. Upon what cauſe?

Clar. Becauſe my name is—George.

Glo. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours;
He ſhould, for that, commit your godfathers:—
O, belike, his majeſty hath ſome intent,
That you ſhall be new-chriſten'd in the Tower.
But what's the matter, Clarence? may I know?

Clar. Yea, Richard, when I know; for, I proteſt,
As yet I do not: But, as I can learn,
He hearkens after propheſies, and dreams[3];

And

[9] *And* hate *the idle pleaſures*—] Perhaps we might read:
And bate *the idle pleaſures*—. JOHNSON.

[1] —*inductions dangerous*,] Preparations for miſchief. The *induction* is preparatory to the action of the play. JOHNSON.

Marſton has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of Fame:

"Plots ha' you laid? *inductions* dangerous?" STEEVENS.

[2] —*Edward be as* true and juſt,] The meaning is, if Edward keeps his word. JOHNSON.

[3] *He hearkens after propheſies, and dreams*;] From Holinſhed: "Some have reported that the cauſe of this nobleman's death roſe of a fooliſh propheſie, which was, that after king Edward ſhould raign one whoſe firſt letter of his name ſhould be a G; wherewith the king and the queene were ſore troubled, and began to conceive a grievous grudge againſt

And from the croſs-row plucks the letter G,
And ſays—a wizard told him, that by G
His iſſue diſinherited ſhould be;
And, for my name of George begins with G,
It follows in his thought, that I am he:
Theſe, as I learn, and ſuch like toys as theſe[4],
Have mov'd his highneſs to commit me now.

Glo. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by women:—
'Tis not the king, that ſends you to the Tower;
My lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 'tis ſhe,
That tempts him to this harſh extremity.
Was it not ſhe, and that good man of worſhip,
Anthony Woodeville, her brother there[5],
That made him ſend lord Haſtings to the Tower;
From whence this preſent day he is deliver'd?
We are not ſafe, Clarence, we are not ſafe.

Clar. By heaven, I think, there is no man ſecure,
But the queen's kindred, and night-walking heralds
That trudge betwixt the king and miſtreſs Shore.
Heard you not, what an humble ſuppliant
Lord Haſtings was to her for his delivery?

Glo. Humbly complaining[6] to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.
I'll tell you what,—I think, it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men, and wear her livery:
The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herſelf[7],

againſt this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end." Philip de Comines, a contemporary hiſtorian, ſays that the Engliſh at that time were never unfurniſhed with ſome prophecy or other, by which they accounted for every event. MALONE.

4 —*toys*—] Fancies, freaks of imagination. JOHNSON.

So, in *Hamlet*, Act I. ſc. iv:

"The very place puts *toys* of deſperation
"Without more motive into every brain—." REED.

5 —*her brother* there,] *There* is in this place, according to our authour's uſual practice, a diſſyllable. MALONE.

6 *Humbly complaining*, &c.] I think theſe two lines might be better given to Clarence. JOHNSON.

7 *The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herſelf,*] That is, the queen and Shore. JOHNSON.

Since

Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty goſſips in this monarchy.

Brak. I beſeech your graces both to pardon me;
His majeſty hath ſtraitly given in charge,
That no man ſhall have private conference,
Of what degree ſoever, with his brother.

Glo. Even ſo? an pleaſe your worſhip, Brakenbury,
You may partake of any thing we ſay:
We ſpeak no treaſon, man;—We ſay, the king
Is wiſe, and virtuous; and his noble queen
Well ſtruck in years [8]; fair, and not jealous:—
We ſay, that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a paſſing pleaſing tongue;
And that the queen's kindred are made gentle-folks:
How ſay you, ſir? can you deny all this?

Brak. With this, my lord, myſelf have nought to do.

Glo. Naught to do with miſtreſs Shore? I tell thee, fellow,
He that doth naught with her, excepting one,
Were beſt to do it ſecretly, alone.

Brak. What one, my lord?

Glo. Her huſband, knave:—Would'ſt thou betray me?

Brak. I beſeech your grace to pardon me; and, withal,
Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

Clar. We know thy charge, Brakenbury, and will obey.

Glo. We are the queen's abjects [9], and muſt obey.
Brother,

[8] *Well* ſtruck *in years*;] This odd expreſſion in our language was preceded by one as uncouth though of a ſimilar kind.

"*Well* ſhot *in years he ſeem'd*," &c. Spenſer's *Faery Queen*, B. V. c. vi: The meaning of neither is very obvious; but as Mr. Warton has obſerved in his Eſſay on the *Faery Queen*, by an imperceptible progreſſion from one kindred ſenſe to another, words at length obtain a meaning entirely foreign to their original etymology. STEEVENS.

[9] — *the queen's abjects*—] That is, not the queen's *ſubjects*, whom ſhe might protect, but her *abjects*, whom ſhe drives away. JOHNSON.

So, in *The Caſe is altered. How? Art Dalio, and Millo*, 1604: "This ougly *object* or rather *abject* of nature." HENDERSON.

I cannot approve of Dr. Johnſon's explanation. *The queen's abjects* means the moſt ſervile of her ſubjects, who muſt of courſe obey all her commands,

Brother, farewel: I will unto the king;
And whatſoe'er you will employ me in,—
Were it, to call king Edward's widow—ſiſter[1],—
I will perform it, to enfranchiſe you.
Mean time, this deep diſgrace in brotherhood,
Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know, it pleaſeth neither of us well.

Glo. Well, your impriſonment ſhall not be long;
I will deliver you, or elſe lie for you:
Mean time, have patience.

Clar. I muſt perforce[2]; farewel.

[*Exeunt* CLARENCE, BRAKENBURY, *and Guard.*

Glo. Go, tread the path that thou ſhalt ne'er return.
Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee ſo,
That I will ſhortly ſend thy ſoul to heaven,
If heaven will take the preſent at our hands.
But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Haſtings?

Enter HASTINGS.

Haſt. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glo. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!

commands, which would not be the caſe of thoſe whom ſhe had driven away from her. In the preceding page Gloceſter had ſaid of Shore's wife—

" —— I think, it is our way,
" If we will keep in favour with the king,
" To be her men, and wear her livery."

In Ben Jonſon's *Every Man out of his Humour*, Puntarvolo ſays to Shift, " I'll make thee ſtoop, thou *abject*." MASON.

[1] *Were it to call king Edward's widow—ſiſter,*] This is a very covert and ſubtle manner of inſinuating treaſon. The natural expreſſion would have been, *were it to call king Edward's* wife, *ſiſter*. I will ſolicit for you, though it ſhould be at the expence of ſo much degradation and conſtraint, as to own the low-born wife of King Edward for a ſiſter. But by ſlipping, as it were caſually, *widow*, into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique propoſal to kill the king. JOHNSON.

King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expreſſion of contempt, meaning the *widow Grey*, whom Edward had choſen for his queen. Gloſter has already called her, *the jealous o'erworn widow*. STEEV.

[2] *I muſt perforce;*] Alluding to the proverb, " Patience perforce is a medicine for a mad dog." STEEVENS.

Well

Well are you welcome to this open air.
How hath your lordſhip brook'd impriſonment?

Haſt. With patience, noble lord, as priſoners muſt:
But I ſhall live, my lord, to give them thanks,
That were the cauſe of my impriſonment.

Glo. No doubt, no doubt; and ſo ſhall Clarence too;
For they, that were your enemies, are his,
And have prevail'd as much on him, as you.

Haſt. More pity, that the eagle ſhould be mew'd[3],
While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.

Glo. What news abroad?

Haſt. No news ſo bad abroad, as this at home;—
The king is ſickly, weak, and melancholy,
And his phyſicians fear him mightily.

Glo. Now, by ſaint Paul[4], this news is bad indeed.
O, he hath kept an evil diet long,
And over-much conſum'd his royal perſon;
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.
What, is he in his bed?

Haſt. He is.

Glo. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit* HASTINGS.

He cannot live, I hope; and muſt not die,
Till George be pack'd with poſt-horſe up to heaven.
I'll in, to urge his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well ſteel'd with weighty arguments;
And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live:
Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to buſtle in!
For then I'll marry Warwick's youngeſt daughter:
What though I kill'd her huſband, and her father?

3 —*ſhould be* mew'd,] A *mew* was the place of confinement where a hawk was kept till he had moulted. So, in *Albumazar*:

" Stand forth, transform'd Antonio, fully *mew'd*
" From brown ſear feathers of dull yeomanry,
" To the glorious bloom of gentry." STEEVENS.

4 *Now, by ſaint Paul,*—] The folio reads—*Now, by ſaint* John. STEEVENS.

The

The readieſt way to make the wench amends,
Is—to become her huſband, and her father:
The which will I; not all ſo much for love,
As for another ſecret cloſe intent,
By marrying her, which I muſt reach unto.
But yet I run before my horſe to market:
Clarence ſtill breathes; Edward ſtill lives, and reigns;
When they are gone, then muſt I count my gains. [*Exit.*

SCENE II.

The ſame. Another Street.

Enter the corſe of King Henry *the Sixth, borne in an open coffin, Gentlemen bearing halberds, to guard it; and Lady* Anne *as mourner.*

Anne. Set down, ſet down your honourable load,—
If honour may be ſhrouded in a hearſe,—
Whilſt I a while obſequiouſly lament[5]
The untimely fall of virtuous Lancaſter.—
Poor key-cold[6] figure of a holy king!
Pale aſhes of the houſe of Lancaſter!
Thou bloodleſs remnant of that royal blood!
Be it lawful that I invocate thy ghoſt,
To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,
Wife to thy Edward, to thy ſlaughter'd ſon,
Stabb'd by the ſelf-ſame hand that made theſe wounds!
Lo, in theſe windows, that let forth thy life,
I pour the helpleſs balm of my poor eyes:—
O, curſed be the hand, that made theſe holes!

5 — obſequiouſly *lament*] *Obſequious*, in this inſtance, means *funereal*. So, in *Hamlet*, Act I. ſc. ii:
"*To do* obſequious *ſorrow*." STEEVENS.

6 — *key-cold*—] A key, on account of the coldneſs of the metal of which it is compoſed, was anciently employed to ſtop any ſlight bleeding. The epithet is common to many old writers. So, in the *Country Girl*, by T. B. 1647:
"The *key-cold* figure of a man." STEEVENS.
Again, in our authour's *Rape of Lucrece*:
"And then in *key-cold* Lucrece' bleeding ſtream
"He falls—." MALONE.

Curſed

Curſed the heart, that had the heart to do it!
Curſed the blood, that let this blood from hence!
More direful hap betide that hated wretch,
That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
Than I can wiſh to adders, ſpiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!
If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious, and untimely brought to light,
Whoſe ugly and unnatural aſpect
May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
And that be heir to his unhappineſs *!
If ever he have wife, let her be made
More miſerable by the death of him,
Than I am made by my young lord, and thee!—
Come, now, towards Chertſey with your holy load,
Taken from Paul's to be interred there;
And, ſtill as you are weary of the weight,
Reſt you, whiles I lament king Henry's corſe.

[*The Bearers take up the corpſe, and advance.*

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Stay you, that bear the corſe, and ſet it down.

Anne. What black magician conjures up this fiend,
To ſtop devoted charitable deeds?

Glo. Villains, ſet down the corſe; or, by ſaint Paul,
I'll make a corſe of him that diſobeys [7].

1. *Gent.* My lord, ſtand back, and let the coffin paſs.

Glo. Unmanner'd dog! ſtand thou when I command:
Advance thy halberd higher than my breaſt,
Or, by ſaint Paul, I'll ſtrike thee to my foot,
And ſpurn upon thee, beggar, for thy boldneſs.

[*The bearers ſet down the coffin.*

Anne. What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?
Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.—

* — *to his unhappineſs!*] To his miſchievous diſpoſition. See Vol. II. p. 187, n. 8, and p. 234, n. 2. MALONE.

[7] *I'll make a corſe of him that diſobeys.*] So, in *Hamlet*:
"*I'll make a ghoſt of him that lets me.*" JOHNSON.

Avaunt,

Avaunt, thou dreadful miniſter of hell!
Thou hadſt but power over his mortal body,
His ſoul thou canſt not have; therefore, be gone.

Glo. Sweet ſaint, for charity, be not ſo curſt.

Anne. Foul devil, for God's ſake, hence, and trouble us not;
For thou haſt made the happy earth thy hell,
Fill'd it with curſing cries, and deep exclaims.
If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
Behold this pattern of thy butcheries[8]:—
O, gentlemen, ſee, ſee! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afreſh[9]!—
Bluſh, bluſh, thou lump of foul deformity;

[8] — pattern *of thy butcheries:*] *Pattern* is *inſtance*, or *example*. JOHNSON.

Holinſhed ſays: "The dead corps on the Aſcenſion even was conveied with billes and glaives pompouſlie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of ſaint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare-faced; the ſame in the preſence of the beholders did bleed; where it reſted the ſpace of one whole daie. From thenſe he was carried to the Black-friers, and bled there likewiſe;" &c. STEEVENS.

[9] — *ſee, dead Henry's wounds*
Open their congeal'd mouths, and bleed afreſh!—] It is a tradition very generally received, that the murdered body bleeds on the touch of the murderer. This was ſo much believed by Sir Kenelm Digby that he has endeavoured to explain the reaſon. JOHNSON.

So, in *Arden of Feverſham*, 1592:

"The more I ſound his name, the more he bleeds:
"This blood condemns me, and in guſhing forth
"Speaks as it falls, and aſks me why I did it."

Again, in the *Widow's Tears*, by Chapman, 1612:

"The captain will aſſay an old concluſion often approved; that at the murderer's ſight the blood revives again and boils afreſh; and every wound has a condemning voice to cry out guilty againſt the murderer."

Mr. Tollet obſerves that this opinion ſeems to be derived from the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations from whom we deſcend; for they practiſed this method of trial in dubious caſes, as appears from Pitt's *Atlas*, in Sweden, p. 20. STEEVENS.

See alſo *Demonologie*, quarto, 1603, p. 79, and Goulart's *Admirable and Memorable Hiſtories*, tranſlated by Grimeſton, quarto, 1607, p. 422. REED.

For

For 'tis thy preſence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins, where no blood dwells;
Thy deed, inhuman, and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge moſt unnatural.—
O God, which this blood mad'ſt, revenge his death!
O earth, which this blood drink'ſt, revenge his death!
Either, heaven, with lightning ſtrike the murderer dead,
Or, earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick;
As thou doſt ſwallow up this good king's blood,
Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered!

Glo. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
Which renders good for bad, bleſſings for curſes.

Anne. Villain, thou know'ſt no law of God nor man;
No beaſt ſo fierce, but knows ſome touch of pity.

Glo. But I know none, and therefore am no beaſt.

Anne. O wonderful, when devils tell the truth!

Glo. More wonderful, when angels are ſo angry.—
Vouchſafe, divine perfection of a woman,
Of theſe ſuppoſed evils, to give me leave,
By circumſtance, but to acquit myſelf.

Anne. Vouchſafe, diffus'd infection of a man[1],
For theſe known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumſtance, to curſe thy curſed ſelf.

Glo. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let me have
Some patient leiſure to excuſe myſelf.

Anne. Fouler than heart can think thee, thou canſt make
No excuſe current, but to hang thyſelf.

Glo. By ſuch deſpair, I ſhould accuſe myſelf.

[1] *Vouchſafe*, diffus'd *infection of a man*,] I believe, *diffus'd* in this place ſignifies *irregular*, *uncouth*; ſuch is its meaning in other paſſages of Shakſpeare. JOHNSON.

Diffus'd infection of a man may mean, thou that art as dangerous as a peſtilence, that infects the air by its diffuſion. *Diffus'd* may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *The Merry Wives of Windſor*:

" —— ruſh at once
" With ſome *diffuſed* ſong."

Again, in Green's *Farewell to Follie*, 1617: "I have ſeen an Engliſh gentleman ſo *defuſed* in his ſutes; his doublet being for the weare of Caſtile, his hoſe for Venice," &c. STEEVENS.

Anne.

Anne. And, by deſpairing, ſhalt thou ſtand excus'd;
For doing worthy vengeance on thyſelf,
That didſt unworthy ſlaughter upon others.

Glo. Say, that I ſlew them not?

Anne. Why then, they are not dead*;
But dead they are, and, deviliſh ſlave, by thee.

Glo. I did not kill your huſband.

Anne. Why, then he is alive.

Glo. Nay, he is dead; and ſlain by Edward's hand.

Anne. In thy ſoul's throat thou ly'ſt; queen Margaret ſaw
Thy murderous faulchion ſmoking in his blood;
The which thou once didſt bend againſt her breaſt,
But that thy brothers beat aſide the point.

Glo. I was provoked by her ſland'rous tongue,
That laid their guilt upon my guiltleſs ſhoulders [2].

Anne. Thou waſt provoked by thy bloody mind,
Which never dreamt on aught but butcheries:
Didſt thou not kill this king?

Glo. I grant ye.

Anne. Doſt grant me, hedge-hog? then, God grant me too,
Thou may'ſt be damned for that wicked deed!
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.

Glo. The fitter for the King of heaven that hath him [3].

Anne. He is in heaven, where thou ſhalt never come.

Glo. Let him thank me, that holp to ſend him thither;
For he was fitter for that place, than earth.

Anne. And thou unfit for any place, but hell.

Glo. Yes, one place elſe, if you will hear me name it.

* *Why then, they are not dead*;] Thus the quarto. The folio reads: *Then ſay, they are not ſlain.* MALONE.

[2] *That laid their guilt*—] The crime of my brothers. He has juſt charged the murder of lady Anne's huſband upon Edward. JOHNSON.

[3] *O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous.*

Glo. *The fitter for the king of heaven*, &c.] So, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, 1609:

"I'll do't: but yet ſhe is a goodly creature.

"*Dion.* The fitter then the gods ſhould have her." STEEVENS.

Anne. Some dungeon.

Glo. Your bed-chamber.

Anne. Ill reſt betide the chamber where thou lieſt!

Glo. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.

Anne. I hope ſo.

Glo. I know ſo.—But, gentle lady Anne,—
To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall ſomewhat into a ſlower method[4];—
Is not the cauſer of the timeleſs deaths
Of theſe Plantagenets, Henry, and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

Anne. Thou waſt the cauſe, and moſt accurs'd effect[5].

Glo. Your beauty was the cauſe of that effect;
Your beauty, which did haunt me in my ſleep,
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your ſweet boſom.

Anne. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,
Theſe nails ſhould rend that beauty from my cheeks.

Glo. Theſe eyes could not endure that beauty's wreck,
You ſhould not blemiſh it, if I ſtood by:
As all the world is cheered by the ſun,
So I by that; it is my day, my life.

Anne. Black night o'er-ſhade thy day, and death thy life!

Glo. Curſe not thyſelf, fair creature; thou art both.

Anne. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

4 — *a* ſlower *method*;—] As *quick* was uſed for *ſprightly*, ſo *ſlower* was put for *ſerious*. In the next ſcene lord Grey deſires the queen to
—— cheer his grace with *quick* and merry words. STEEVENS.

5 *Thou waſt the cauſe, and moſt accurs'd effect.*] *Effect*, for executioner. He aſks, was not the *cauſer* as ill as the *executioner*? She anſwers, Thou waſt both. WARBURTON.

So, in the *Yorkſhire Tragedy*, 1608:

" —— thou art the *cauſe*,
" *Effect*, quality, property; thou, thou."

Again, in *King Henry IV.* P. II. " I have read the *cauſe* of his *effects* in Galen." STEEVENS.

Our authour, I think, in another place uſes *effect*, for *efficient* cauſe. MALONE.

Glo.

Glo. It is a quarrel moſt unnatural,
To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee.
Anne. It is a quarrel juſt and reaſonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my huſband.
Glo. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy huſband,
Did it to help thee to a better huſband.
Anne. His better doth not breathe upon the earth.
Glo. He lives, that loves you better than he could.
Anne. Name him.
Glo. Plantagenet.
Anne. Why, that was he.
Glo. The ſelf-ſame name, but one of better nature.
Anne. Where is he?
Glo. Here: [*She ſpits at him.*] Why doſt thou ſpit at me?
Anne. 'Would it were mortal poiſon, for thy ſake!
Glo. Never came poiſon from ſo ſweet a place.
Anne. Never hung poiſon on a fouler toad.
Out of my ſight! thou doſt infect mine eyes.
Glo. Thine eyes, ſweet lady, have infected mine.
Anne. 'Would they were baſiliſks, to ſtrike thee dead[6]!
Glo. I would they were, that I might die at once;
For now they kill me with a living death[7].
Thoſe eyes of thine from mine have drawn ſalt tears,
Sham'd their aſpects with ſtore of childiſh drops:

[6] *'Would they were baſiliſks*, &c.] So, in *the Winter's Tale*:
" Make me not ſighted like the baſiliſk;
" I have look'd on thouſands, who have ſped the better
" By my regard, but kill'd none ſo."
See alſo *K. Henry VI.* P. II. p. 181, n. *. MALONE.

[7] — *they kill me with a living death.*] In imitation of this paſſage, and, I ſuppoſe, of a thouſand more, Pope writes:
" —— *a* living death *I bear*,
" *Says Dapperwit, and ſunk beſide his chair.*" JOHNSON.
So, in Watſon's Sonnets, printed about 1580:
" Love is a ſowre delight, a ſugred griefe,
" A *living death*, an ever-dying life."
We have again the ſame expreſſion in *Venus and Adonis*:
" For I have heard it [love] is a *life in death*,
" That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath."
MALONE.

These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear[8],—
Not, when my father[9] York and Edward wept,
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made,
When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him:
Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death;
And twenty times made pause, to sob, and weep,
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
Like trees bedash'd with rain: in that sad time,
My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.
I never su'd to friend, nor enemy;
My tongue could never learn sweet soothing word*;
But now thy beauty is propos'd my fee,
My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.
[*She looks scornfully at him.*
Teach not thy lip such scorn; for it was made
For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo! here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;
Which if thou please to hide in this true breast,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.
[*He lays his breast open; she offers at it with his sword.*
Nay, do not pause; for I did kill king Henry;—
But 'twas thy beauty[1] that provoked me.
Nay, now dispatch; 'twas I that stabb'd young Edward;—
[*She again offers at his breast.*

[8] *These eyes, which never,* &c.] The twelve following beautiful lines added after the first editions. POPE.

They were added with many more. JOHNSON.

[9] Not, *when my father*—] The old copies read—*No*, when, &c. The correction was made by Mr. Pope. I am not sure that it is necessary. MALONE.

* —*sweet* soothing *word*;] Thus the quarto, 1598. The folio has—sweet *smoothing* word. MALONE.

[1] *But 'twas thy beauty*—] Shakspeare countenances the observation, that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty. JOHNSON.

But

But 'twas thy heavenly face that ſet me on.
[*She lets fall the ſword.*
Take up the ſword again, or take up me.
Anne. Ariſe, diſſembler; though I wiſh thy death,
I will not be thy executioner.
Glo. Then bid me kill myſelf, and I will do it.
Anne. I have already.
Glo. That was in thy rage:
Speak it again, and, even with the word,
This hand, which for thy love, did kill thy love,
Shall, for thy love, kill a far truer love;
To both their deaths ſhalt thou be acceſſary.
Anne. I would, I knew thy heart.
Glo. 'Tis figur'd in my tongue.
Anne. I fear me, both are falſe.
Glo. Then never man was true.
Anne. Well, well, put up your ſword.
Glo. Say then, my peace is made.
Anne. That ſhall you know hereafter.
Glo. But ſhall I live in hope?
Anne. All men, I hope, live ſo.
Glo. Vouchſafe to wear this ring.
Anne. To take is not to give. [*She puts on the ring.*
Glo. Look, how this ring encompaſſeth thy finger,
Even ſo thy breaſt encloſeth my poor heart;
Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.
And if thy poor devoted ſervant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou doſt confirm his happineſs for ever.
Anne. What is it?
Glo. That it may pleaſe you leave theſe ſad deſigns
To him that hath more cauſe to be a mourner,
And preſently repair to Croſby-place[2]:

[2] — *Croſby-place:*] A houſe near Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, belonging to the duke of Gloſter. JOHNSON.

Croſby-place is now *Croſby*-ſquare in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet; part of the houſe is yet remaining, and is a meeting place for a preſbyterian congregation. Sir J. HAWKINS.

Where—after I have ſolemnly interr'd
At Chertſey monaſt'ry this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears,—
I will with all expedient duty[3] ſee you:
For divers unknown reaſons, I beſeech you,
Grant me this boon.

Anne. With all my heart; and much it joys me too,
To ſee you are become ſo penitent.—
Treſſel, and Berkley, go along with me.

Glo. Bid me farewel.

Anne. 'Tis more than you deſerve:
But, ſince you teach me how to flatter you;
Imagine I have ſaid farewel already[4].

[*Exeunt Lady* ANNE, *and two* Gentlemen.

Glo. Take up the corſe, ſirs.

2. *Gent.* Towards Chertſey, noble lord?

Glo. No, to White-Fryars; there attend my coming.

[*Exeunt the reſt, with the corſe.*

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?
I'll have her,—but I will not keep her long.
What! I, that kill'd her huſband, and his father,
To take her in her heart's extremeſt hate;
With curſes in her mouth, tears in her eyes,
The bleeding witneſs of her hatred by;
With God, her conſcience, and theſe bars againſt me,
And I no friends to back my ſuit withal,
But the plain devil, and diſſembling looks,
And yet to win her,—all the world to nothing!
Ha!
Hath ſhe forgot already that brave prince,

3 — *with all* expedient *duty*—] See Vol. V. p. 25, n. 4. MALONE.

4 *Imagine, I have ſaid farewel already.*] Cibber, who altered *King Richard III.* for the ſtage, was ſo thoroughly convinced of the ridiculouſneſs and improbability of this ſcene, that he thought himſelf obliged to make Treſſel ſay:

When future chronicles ſhall ſpeak of this,
They will be thought romance, not hiſtory. (STEEVENS.

Edward,

Edward, her lord, whom I, ſome three months ſince,
Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewkſbury *?
A ſweeter and a lovelier gentleman,—
Fram'd in the prodigality of nature [5],
Young, valiant, wiſe, and, no doubt, right royal [6],—
The ſpacious world cannot again afford:
And will ſhe yet abaſe her eyes on me,
That cropp'd the golden prime of this ſweet prince,
And made her widow to a woeful bed?
On me, whoſe all not equals Edward's moiety?
On me, that halt, and am miſhapen thus?
My dukedom to a beggarly denier [7],
I do miſtake my perſon all this while:
Upon my life, ſhe finds, although I cannot,
Myſelf to be a marvellous proper man [8].
I'll be at charges for a looking-glaſs;
And entertain a ſcore or two of tailors,
To ſtudy faſhions to adorn my body:
Since I am crept in favour with myſelf,
I will maintain it with ſome little coſt.

* — *whom I, ſome three months ſince,*
Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewkſbury?] Here we have the exact time of this ſcene aſcertained, namely Auguſt 1471. King Edward however is in the ſecond act introduced dying. That king died in April 1483; ſo there is an interval between this and the next act of almoſt twelve years. Clarence, who is repreſented in the preceding ſcene as committed to the Tower before the burial of King Henry VI. was in fact not confined nor put to death till ſeven years afterwards, March, 1477-8. MALONE.

[5] *Fram'd in the prodigality of nature,*] i. e. when nature was in a prodigal or laviſh mood. WARBURTON.

[6] — *and, no doubt, right royal,*—] Richard means to repreſent *Edward* as *full of all the noble properties of a king. No doubt, right royal*, may, however, be ironically ſpoken, alluding to the incontinence of Margaret, his mother. STEEVENS.

[7] — *a beggarly* denier,] A *denier* is the twelfth part of a French ſous, and appears to have been the uſual requeſt of a beggar. So, in *the Cunning Northern Beggar*, b. l. an ancient ballad:

"For ſtill will I cry, good your worſhip, good ſir,
"Beſtow one poor denier, ſir." STEEVENS.

[8] — *a* marvellous proper *man.*] *Marvellous* is here uſed adverbially. *Proper* in old language was *handſome*. See Vol. III. p. 14, n. 7. MALONE.

But, firſt, I'll turn yon' fellow in his grave;
And then return lamenting to my love.—
Shine out, fair ſun, till I have bought a glaſs,
That I may ſee my ſhadow as I paſs. [*Exit.*

SCENE III.

The ſame. A Room in the Palace.

Enter Queen ELIZABETH, *Lord* RIVERS, *and Lord* GREY.

Riv. Have patience, madam; there's no doubt, his majeſty
Will ſoon recover his accuſtom'd health.

Grey. In that you brook it ill, it makes him worſe:
Therefore, for God's ſake, entertain good comfort,
And cheer his grace with quick and merry words.

Q. Eliz. If he were dead, what would betide of me?

Grey. No other harm, but loſs of ſuch a lord.

Q. Eliz. The loſs of ſuch a lord includes all harms.

Grey. The heavens have bleſs'd you with a goodly ſon,
To be your comforter, when he is gone.

Q. Eliz. Ah, he is young; and his minority
Is put unto the truſt of Richard Gloſter,
A man that loves not me, nor none of you.

Riv. Is it concluded, he ſhall be protector?

Q. Eliz. It is determin'd, not concluded yet[9];
But ſo it muſt be, if the king miſcarry.

Enter BUCKINGHAM, *and* STANLEY.

Grey. Here come the lords of Buckingham and Stanley[1].

Buck. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

Stan. God make your majeſty joyful as you have been!

[9] *It is* determin'd, *not* concluded *yet;*] *Determin'd* ſignifies the final concluſion of the will: *concluded*, what cannot be altered by reaſon of ſome act, conſequent on the final judgment. WARBURTON.

[1] —*and Stanley.*] The old copies all have *Derby*, inſtead of *Stanley*. The correction was made by Mr. Theobald, who has ſhewn the neceſſity of the change by obſerving that "Thomas Lord Stanley, Lord Steward of Edward the Fourth's houſhold, (the perſon here meant) was not created Earl of Derby till after the acceſſion of Henry the Seventh. Accordingly in the fourth and fifth acts of this play, before the battle of Boſworth-field, he is every where called Lord Stanley." MALONE.

Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. The countess Richmond*, good my lord of Stanley,
To your good prayer will scarcely say—amen.
Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,
And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd,
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

Stan. I do beseech you, either not believe
The envious slanders of her false accusers;
Or, if she be accus'd on true report,
Bear with her weakness, which, I think, proceeds
From wayward sickness, and no grounded malice.

Q. Eliz. Saw you the king to-day, my lord of Stanley?

Stan. But now the duke of Buckingham, and I,
Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. Eliz. What likelihood of his amendment, lords?

Buck. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks cheerfully.

Q. Eliz. God grant him health! Did you confer with him?

Buck. Ay, madam: he desires to make atonement
Between the duke of Gloster and your brothers,
And between them and my lord chamberlain;
And sent to warn them[2] to his royal presence.

Q. Eliz. 'Would all were well!—But that will never be;—
I fear, our happiness is at the height.

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, *and* DORSET.

Glo They do me wrong, and I will not endure it:—
Who are they, that complain unto the king,
That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly,
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter, and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth, deceive, and cog,
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,

* *The countess Richmond,*—] Margaret, daughter to John Beaufort, first duke of Somerset. After the death of her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half-brother to K. Henry VI. by whom she had only one son, afterwards K. Henry VII. she married first Humphrey duke of Buckingham, and secondly, Thomas lord Stanley. MALONE.

[2] —*to warn them*—] i. e. to *summon*. So, in *Julius Cæsar*:
"They mean to *warn* us at Philippi here." STEEVENS.

I must

I muſt be held a rancorous enemy.
Cannot a plain man live, and think no harm,
But thus his ſimple truth muſt be abus'd
By ſilken, ſly, inſinuating Jacks[3]?

Grey. To whom in all this preſence ſpeaks your grace?

Glo. To thee, that haſt nor honeſty, nor grace.
When have I injur'd thee? when done thee wrong?—
Or thee?—or thee?—or any of your faction?
A plague upon you all! His royal grace,—
Whom God preſerve better than you would wiſh!—
Cannot be quiet ſcarce a breathing while,
But you muſt trouble him with lewd complaints.

Q. Eliz. Brother of Gloſter, you miſtake the matter:
The king, of his own royal diſpoſition,
And not provok'd by any ſuitor elſe;
Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred,
That in your outward action ſhews itſelf,
Againſt my children, brothers, and myſelf,
Makes him to ſend; that thereby he may gather
The ground of your ill-will, and ſo remove it[4].

Glo. I cannot tell;—The world is grown ſo bad,
That wrens may prey[5] where eagles dare not perch:
Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There's many a gentle perſon made a Jack.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, we know your meaning, brother Gloſter;
You envy my advancement, and my friends:

3 — *inſinuating* Jacks?] See Vol. II. p. 214, n. 5. MALONE.

4 *Of your ill-will,* &c.] This line is reſtored from the firſt edition. POPE.

By the firſt edition Mr. Pope, as appears from his *Table of Editions*, means the quarto of 1598. But that and the ſubſequent quartos read — and *to* remove. The emendation was made by Mr. Steevens. The folio has only—

Makes him to ſend, that he may learn the ground—.

Here clearly a line was omitted; yet had there been no quarto copy, it would have been thought hardy to ſupply the omiſſion: but of all the errors of the preſs omiſſion is the moſt frequent; and it is a great miſtake to ſuppoſe that theſe *lacunæ* exiſt only in the imagination of editors and commentators. MALONE.

5 — may *prey*—] The quarto 1598 and the folio read—*make* prey. The correction, which all the modern editors have adopted, is taken from the quarto, 1602. MALONE.

God

God grant, we never may have need of you!

Glo. Meantime, God grants that we have need of you:
Our brother is impriſon'd by your means,
Myſelf diſgrac'd, and the nobility
Held in contempt; while great promotions
Are daily given, to enoble thoſe
That ſcarce, ſome two days ſince, were worth a noble.

Q. Eliz. By him, that rais'd me to this careful height
From that contented hap which I enjoy'd,
I never did incenſe his majeſty
Againſt the duke of Clarence, but have been
An earneſt advocate to plead for him.
My lord, you do me ſhameful injury,
Falſely to draw me in theſe vile ſuſpects.

Glo. You may deny that you were not the cauſe
Of my lord Haſtings' late impriſonment.

Riv. She may, my lord; for—

Glo. She may, lord Rivers?—why, who knows not ſo?
She may do more, ſir, than denying that:
She may help you to many fair preferments;
And then deny her aiding hand therein,
And lay thoſe honours on your high deſert.
What may ſhe not? She may,—ay, marry, may ſhe,—

Riv. What, marry, may ſhe?

Glo. What, marry, may ſhe? marry with a king,
A bachelor, a handſome ſtripling too:
I wis, your grandam had a worſer match.

Q. Eliz. My lord of Gloſter, I have too long borne
Your blunt upbraidings, and your bitter ſcoffs:
By heaven, I will acquaint his majeſty,
With thoſe groſs taunts I often have endur'd.
I had rather be a country ſervant-maid,
Than a great queen, with this condition—
To be ſo baited, ſcorn'd, and ſtormed at:
Small joy have I in being England's queen.

Enter Queen MARGARET, *behind.*

Q. Mar. And leſſen'd be that ſmall, God, I beſeech thee!
Thy honour, ſtate, and ſeat, is due to me.

Glo.

Glo. What! threat you me with telling of the king?
Tell him, and ſpare not; look, what I have ſaid [5]
I will avouch in preſence of the king:
I dare adventure to be ſent to the Tower,
'Tis time to ſpeak, my pains [6] are quite forgot.

Q. Mar. Out, devil [7]! I remember them too well:
Thou kill'dſt my huſband Henry in the Tower,
And Edward, my poor ſon, at Tewkſbury.

Glo. Ere you were queen, ay, or your huſband king,
I was a pack-horſe in his great affairs;
A weeder-out of his proud adverſaries,
A liberal rewarder of his friends;
To royalize [8] his blood, I ſpilt mine own.

Q. Mar. Ay, and much better blood than his, or thine.

Glo. In all which time, you, and your huſband Grey,
Were factious for the houſe of Lancaſter;—
And, Rivers, ſo were you:—Was not your huſband
In Margaret's battle at ſaint Albans ſlain [9]?
Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
What you have been ere now, and what you are;
Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. Mar. A murd'rous villain, and ſo ſtill thou art.

[5] *Tell him, and ſpare not; look, what I have ſaid*—] This verſe I have reſtored from the old quartos. THEOBALD.

Here we have another proof of a line being paſſed over by the tranſcriber, or the compoſitor at the preſs, when the firſt folio was printed, for the ſubſequent line is not ſenſe without this. MALONE.

[6] — *my pains*—] My labours; my toils. JOHNSON.

[7] Out, *devil!*] Mr. Lambe obſerves in his notes on the ancient metrical hiſtory of the *Battle of Floddon Field*, that *out* is an interjection of abhorrence or contempt, moſt frequent in the mouths of the common people of the north. It occurs again in Act IV:

" —*out* on ye, owls!" STEEVENS.

[8] — *royalize*,] i. e. to make royal. So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607:

" Who means to-morrow for to *royalize*
" The triumphs," &c. STEEVENS.

[9] — *Was not your huſband,*
In Margaret's battle, &c.] It is ſaid in *King Henry VI.* that he died *in quarrel of the houſe of York*. JOHNSON.

The account here given is the true one. See this inconſiſtency accounted for in p. 303, and in the *Diſſertation* at the end of the Third Part of *King Henry VI.* p. 415. MALONE.

Glo.

Glo. Poor Clarence did forſake his father Warwick,
Ay, and forſwore himſelf,—Which Jeſu pardon!—
Q. Mar. Which God revenge!
Glo. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown;
And, for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up:
I would to God, my heart were flint, like Edward's,
Or Edward's ſoft and pitiful, like mine;
I am too childiſh-fooliſh for this world.
Q. Mar. Hie thee to hell for ſhame, and leave this world,
Thou cacodæmon! there thy kingdom is.
Riv. My lord of Gloſter, in thoſe buſy days,
Which here you urge, to prove us enemies,
We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king[1];
So ſhould we you, if you ſhould be our king.
Glo. If I ſhould be?—I had rather be a pedlar:
Far be it from my heart, the thought thereof!
Q. Eliz. As little joy, my lord, as you ſuppoſe
You ſhould enjoy, were you this country's king;
As little joy you may ſuppoſe in me,
That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.
Q. Mar. A little joy enjoys the queen thereof;
For I am ſhe, and altogether joyleſs.
I can no longer hold me patient.— [*advancing.*
Hear me, you wrangling pirates[2], that fall out
In ſharing that which you have pill'd from me[3]:

[1] — *our* lawful *king*;] So the quarto 1598, and the ſubſequent quartos. The folios has—*ſovereign* king.

In this play the variations between the original copy in quarto, and the folio, are more numerous than, I believe, in any other of our authour's pieces. The alterations, it is highly probable, were made, not by Shakſpeare, but by the players, many of them being very injudicious. The text has been formed out of the two copies, the folio, and the early quarto; from which the preceding editors have in every ſcene ſelected ſuch readings as appeared to them fit to be adopted. To enumerate every variation between the copies would encumber the page with little uſe. MALONE.

[2] *Hear me, you wrangling pirates*, &c.] This ſcene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Caſſandra, for the following tragick revolutions. WARBURTON.

[3] — *which you have* pill'd *from me:*] To *pill* is to pillage. So, in the *Martyr'd Soldier*, by Shirley, 1638:

"He has not *pill'd* the rich, nor flay'd the poor." STEEVENS.

Which

Which of you trembles not, that looks on me?
If not, that, I being queen, you bow like ſubjects;
Yet that, by you depos'd, you quake like rebels?—
Ah, gentle villain [4], do not turn away!

Glo. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'ſt thou in my ſight [5]?

Q. Mar. But repetition of what thou haſt marr'd;
That will I make, before I let thee go.

Glo. Wert thou not baniſhed, on pain of death [*]?

Q. Mar. I was; but I do find more pain in baniſhment,
Than death can yield me here by my abode.
A huſband, and a ſon, thou ow'ſt to me,—
And thou, a kingdom;—all of you, allegiance:
This ſorrow that I have, by right is yours;
And all the pleaſures you uſurp, are mine.

Glo. The curſe my noble father laid on thee,—
When thou didſt crown his warlike brows with paper,
And with thy ſcorns drew'ſt rivers from his eyes;
And then, to dry them, gav'ſt the duke a clout,
Steep'd in the faultleſs blood of pretty Rutland;—
His curſes, then from bitterneſs of ſoul
Denounc'd againſt thee, are all fallen upon thee;

4 *Ah, gentle villain,*] *Gentle* is *high-born*. An oppoſition is meant between that and *villain*, which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch*. So before:

Since ev'ry Jack is made a gentleman,
There's many a gentle *perſon made a Jack*. JOHNSON.

Gentle appears to me to be taken in its common acceptation, but to be uſed ironically. MASON.

5 — *what mak'ſt thou in my ſight?*] An obſolete expreſſion for—*what* doſt *thou in my ſight*. So, in *Othello*:

"Ancient, what *makes* he here?"

Margaret in her anſwer takes the word in its ordinary acceptation. MALONE.

* *Wert thou not baniſhed, on pain of death?*] Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham in 1464, and Edward ſoon afterwards iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his ſubjects from aiding her to return, or harbouring her, ſhould ſhe attempt to reviſit England. She remained abroad till the 14th of April 1471, when ſhe landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewkſbury, in May 1471, ſhe was confined in the Tower, where ſhe continued a priſoner till 1475, when ſhe was ranſomed by her father Reignier, and removed to France, where ſhe died in 1482. The preſent ſcene is in 1477-8. MALONE.

And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed *.
Q. Eliz. So juſt is God, to right the innocent.
Haſt. O, 'twas the foulеſt deed, to ſlay that babe,
And the moſt mercileſs, that e'er was heard of.
Riv. Tyrants themſelves wept when it was reported.
Dorſ. No man but propheſy'd revenge for it.
Buck. Northumberland, then preſent, wept to ſee it[6].
Q. Mar. What! were you ſnarling all, before I came,
Ready to catch each other by the throat,
And turn you all your hatred now on me[7]?
Did York's dread curſe prevail ſo much with heaven,
That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,
Their kingdom's loſs, my woeful baniſhment,
Could all but anſwer for that peeviſh brat?
Can curſes pierce the clouds, and enter heaven?—
Why, then give way, dull clouds, to my quick curſes!—
Though not by war, by ſurfeit die your king[8],
As ours by murder, to make him a king!
Edward, thy ſon, that now is prince of Wales,
For Edward my ſon, that was prince of Wales,
Die in his youth, by like untimely violence!
Thyſelf a queen, for me that was a queen,
Out-live thy glory, like my wretched ſelf!
Long may'ſt thou live, to wail thy children's loſs;
And ſee another, as I ſee thee now,
Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art ſtall'd in mine!

* — *hath* plagu'd *thy bloody deed.*] To *plague* was uſed by Shakſpeare and his contemporaries in the ſenſe of to *puniſh*. See Vol. IV. p. 470, n. 2. MALONE.

6 *Northumberland, then preſent, wept to ſee it.*] Alluding to a line in *K. Henry VI.* P. III.

"What weeping ripe, my lord Northumberland?" STEEVENS.

7 *And turn you all your hatred now on me?*] Perhaps we ought rather to point thus:

And turn you, all, your hatred now on me?

to ſhew that *all* is not to be joined in conſtruction with *hatred*. That the poet did not intend that it ſhould be connected with *hatred*, ſeems to be indicated by the foregoing line:

What! were you ſnarling *all*, &c.

The quarto reads, perhaps better:

And turn you now your hatred, all on me? MALONE.

8 — *by ſurfeit die your king!*] Alluding to his luxurious life. JOHNS.

Long

Long die thy happy days before thy death;
And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
Die neither mother, wife, nor England's queen!—
Rivers,—and Dorſet,—you were ſtanders by,—
And ſo waſt thou, lord Haſtings,—when my ſon
Was ſtabb'd with bloody daggers; God, I pray him,
That none of you may live your natural age,
But by ſome unlook'd accident cut off!

Glo. Have done thy charm, thou hateful wither'd hag.

Q. Mar. And leave out thee? ſtay, dog, for thou ſhalt hear me.
If heaven have any grievous plague in ſtore,
Exceeding thoſe that I can wiſh upon thee,
O, let them keep it, till thy ſins be ripe,
And then hurl down their indignation
On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace!
The worm of conſcience ſtill be-gnaw thy ſoul!
Thy friends ſuſpect for traitors while thou liv'ſt,
And take deep traitors for thy deareſt friends!
No ſleep cloſe up that deadly eye of thine,
Unleſs it be while ſome tormenting dream
Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
Thou elviſh-mark'd[9], abortive, rooting hog[1]!

Thou

9 —*elviſh*-mark'd,—] The common people in Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have ſtill an averſion to thoſe who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them *mark'd* out for miſchief. STEEVENS.

1 —*rooting hog!*] She calls him *hog*, as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elſewhere termed from his enſigns armorial. JOHNSON.

In the *Mirror for Magiſtrates* is the following *Complaint of Collingbourne, who was cruelly executed for making a rime.*

"*For where I meant the king by name of hog,*
"*I only alluded to his badge the bore:*
"*To Lovel's name I added more,—our dog;*
"*Becauſe moſt dogs have borne that name of yore.*
"*Theſe metaphors I us'd with other more,*
"*As cat and rat, the half-names of the reſt,*
"*To hide the ſenſe that they ſo wrongly wreſt.*"

That *Lovel* was once the common name of a dog, may be likewiſe known from a paſſage in *The Hiſtorie of Jacob and Eſau*, an interlude, 1568:

"Then

Thou that waſt ſeal'd in thy nativity
The ſlave of nature [2], and the ſon of hell!
Thou ſlander of thy mother's heavy womb!
Thou loathed iſſue of thy father's loins!
Thou rag of honour [3]! thou deteſted—
Glo. Margaret.
Q. Mar. Richard!
Glo. Ha?

" Then come on at once, take my quiver and my bowe;
" Fette *lovell my hounde*, and my horne to blowe."
The rhime for which Collingbourne ſuffered, was:
" A cat, and Lovel the dog,
" Rule all England under a hog." STEEVENS.

The perſons levelled at by this rhime were the king, Cateſby, Ratcliff, and Lovel, as appears in *the Complaint of Collingbourn*:
" Cateſbye was one whom I called a cat,
" A craftie lawyer catching all he could;
" The ſecond Ratcliffe, whom I named a rat,
" A cruel beaſt to gnaw on whom he ſhould:
" Lord Lovel barkt and byt whom Richard would,
" Whom I therefore did rightly terme our dog,
" Wherewith to ryme I cald the king a hog." MALONE.

[2] *The ſlave of nature,*] The expreſſion is ſtrong and noble, and alludes to the ancient cuſtom of maſters branding their profligate ſlaves; by which it is inſinuated that his miſhapen perſon was the mark that nature had ſet upon him to ſtigmatize his ill conditions. Shakſpeare expreſſes the ſame thought in *The Comedy of Errors*:
" *He is deformed, crooked*, &c.
" *Stigmatical in making*,—"
But as the ſpeaker riſes in her reſentment, ſhe expreſſes this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a ſtill worſe ſtate of ſlavery:
" *Sin, death, and hell, have ſet their* marks *on him.*"
WARBURTON.

Part of Dr. Warburton's note is confirm'd by a line in our authour's *Rape of Lucrece*, from which it appears he was acquainted with the practice of marking ſlaves:
" Worſe than a *ſlaviſh wipe*, or birth-hour's blot." MALONE.

[3] *Thou* rag *of honour!* &c.] This word of contempt is uſed again in *Timon*:
" If thou wilt curſe, thy father, that poor *rag*,
" Muſt be the ſubject."
Again, in this play:
" Theſe over-weening *rags* of France." STEEVENS.

Q. Mar. I call thee not.

Glo. I cry thee mercy then; for I did think,
That thou had'ſt call'd me all theſe bitter names.

Q. Mar. Why, ſo I did; but look'd for no reply.
O, let me make the period to my curſe.

Glo. 'Tis done by me; and ends in—Margaret.

Q. Eliz. Thus have you breath'd your curſe againſt yourſelf.

Q. Mar. Poor painted queen, vain flouriſh of my fortune[4]!
Why ſtrew'ſt thou ſugar on that bottled ſpider[5],
Whoſe deadly web enſnareth thee about?
Fool, fool! thou whet'ſt a knife to kill thyſelf.
The day will come, that thou ſhalt wiſh for me
To help thee curſe this pois'nous bunch-back'd toad.

Haſt. Falſe-boding woman, end thy frantick curſe;
Leſt, to thy harm, thou move our patience.

Q. Mar. Foul ſhame upon you! you have all mov'd mine.

Riv. Were you well ſerv'd, you would be taught your duty.

Q. Mar. To ſerve me well, you all ſhould do me duty,
Teach me to be your queen, and you my ſubjects:
O, ſerve me well, and teach yourſelves that duty.

Dor. Diſpute not with her, ſhe is lunatick.

Q. Mar. Peace, maſter marquis, you are malapert;
Your fire-new ſtamp of honour is ſcarce current[6]:
O, that your young nobility could judge,
What 'twere to loſe it, and be miſerable!

[4] —*flouriſh of my fortune!*] This expreſſion is likewiſe uſed by Maſſinger in the *Great Duke of Florence*:

" —I allow theſe
" As *flouriſhings of fortune.*" STEEVENS.

[5] —*bottled ſpider,*] A ſpider is called bottled, becauſe, like other inſects, he has a middle ſlender and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom make her liken him to a ſpider. JOHNSON.

[6] *Your fire-new ſtamp of honour is ſcarce current:*] Thomas Grey was created Marquis of Dorſet, A. D. 1476. PERCY.

The preſent ſcene, as has been already obſerved, is in 1477-8. MALONE.

They that ſtand high, have many blaſts to ſhake them;
And, if they fall, they daſh themſelves to pieces.

Glo. Good counſel, marry;—learn it, learn it, marquis.

Dor. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

Glo. Ay, and much more: But I was born ſo high,
Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and ſcorns the ſun.

Q. Mar. And turns the ſun to ſhade;—alas! alas!—
Witneſs my ſon [7], now in the ſhade of death;
Whoſe bright out-ſhining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkneſs folded up.
Your aiery buildeth in our aiery's neſt [8]:—
O God, that ſee'ſt it, do not ſuffer it;
As it was won with blood, loſt be it ſo!

Buck. Peace, peace, for ſhame, if not for charity.

Q. Mar. Urge neither charity nor ſhame to me;
Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And ſhamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.
My charity is outrage, life my ſhame,—
And in my ſhame ſtill live my ſorrow's rage!

Buck. Have done, have done.

Q. Mar. O princely Buckingham, I kiſs thy hand,
In ſign of league and amity with thee:
Now fair befal thee, and thy noble houſe!
Thy garments are not ſpotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compaſs of my curſe.

Buck. Nor no one here; for curſes never paſs
The lips of thoſe that breathe them in the air.

Q. Mar. I'll not believe but they aſcend the ſky,
And there awake God's gentle-ſleeping peace.
O Buckingham, beware of yonder dog;
Look, when he fawns, he bites; and, when he bites,

[7] *Witneſs my* ſon—] Thus the quarto of 1598, and the folio. The modern editors, after the quarto of 1612, read—*ſun.* MALONE.

[8] *Your* aiery *buildeth in our* aiery's *neſt*:—] An *aiery* is a hawk's or an eagle's neſt. So, in Greene's *Card of Fancy*, 1608:
"It is a ſubtle bird that breeds among the *aiery* of hawks."
STEEVENS.

His venom tooth will rankle to the death:
Have not to do with him, beware of him;
Sin, death, and hell[9], have ſet their marks on him;
And all their miniſters attend on him.

Glo. What doth ſhe ſay, my lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Nothing that I reſpect, my gracious lord.

Q. Mar. What, doſt thou ſcorn me for my gentle counſel?
And ſooth the devil that I warn thee from?
O, but remember this another day,
When he ſhall ſplit thy very heart with ſorrow;
And ſay, poor Margaret was a prophetes.—
Live each of you the ſubjects to his hate,
And he to yours, and all of you to God's[1]! [*Exit.*

Haſt. My hair doth ſtand on end to hear her curſes.

Riv. And ſo doth mine; I muſe, why ſhe's at liberty.

Glo. I cannot blame her, by God's holy mother;
She hath had too much wrong, and I repent
My part thereof, that I have done to her.

Q. Eliz. I never did her any, to my knowledge.

Glo. Yet you have all the vantage of her wrong.
I was too hot to do ſome body good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now.
Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repay'd;
He is frank'd up to fatting for his pains[2];—

God

[9] *Sin, death, and hell,*—] Poſſibly Milton took from hence the hint of his famous allegory. BLACKSTONE.

[1] *Live each of you the ſubjects to his hate,*
And he to yours, and all of you to God's!] It is evident from the conduct of Shakſpeare, that the houſe of Tudor retained all their Lancaſtrian prejudices, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of *Richard the Third*, he ſeems to deduce the woes of the houſe of York from the curſes which queen Margaret had vented againſt them; and he could not give that weight to her curſes, without ſuppoſing a right in her to utter them. WALPOLE.

[2] *He* is frank'd up *to fatting for his pains*;] A *frank* is an old Engliſh word for a *hog-ſty*. 'Tis poſſible he uſes this metaphor to Clarence, in alluſion to the creſt of the family of York, which was a *boar*. Whereto relate thoſe famous old verſes on Richard III:

The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a hog.

He uſes the ſame metaphor in the laſt ſcene of Act IV. POPE.

A *frank*

God pardon them that are the cauſe thereof!

Riv. A virtuous and a chriſtian-like concluſion,
To pray for them that have done ſcathe to us[3].

Glo. So do I ever, being well adviſ'd;—
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myſelf. [*Aſide.*

Enter CATESBY.

Cateſ. Madam, his majeſty doth call for you,—
And for your grace,—and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Gateſby, I come:—Lords, will you go with me?

Riv. Madam, we will attend your grace.

[*Exeunt all but* Gloſter.

Glo. I do the wrong, and firſt begin to brawl.
The ſecret miſchiefs that I ſet abroach,
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence,—whom I, indeed, have laid in darkneſs,—
I do beweep to many ſimple gulls;
Namely, to Stanley, Haſtings, Buckingham;
And tell them—'tis the queen and her allies,
That ſtir the king againſt the duke my brother.
Now they believe it; and withal whet me
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan, Grey:
But then I ſigh, and, with a piece of ſcripture,
Tell them—that God bids us do good for evil:
And thus I clothe my naked villainy
With old odd ends, ſtol'n forth of holy writ;
And ſeem a ſaint, when moſt I play the devil.

A *frank* was not a common *hog-ſtye*, but the pen in which thoſe hogs were confined of whom *brawn* was to be made. STEEVENS.

From the manner in which the word is uſed in *King Henry IV.* a *frank* ſhould ſeem to mean a pen in which *any* hog is *fatted*. "Does the old boar feed in the old *frank*?" So alſo, as Mr. Bowle obſerves to me, in Holinſhed's *Deſcription of Britaine*, B. III. p. 1096. "The huſbandmen and farmers never *fraunke* them above three or four months, in which time he is dyeted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planches of an uneaſie coate."

"He feeds like a boar in a frank," as the ſame gentleman obſerves, is one of Ray's proverbial ſentences. MALONE.

3 — *done* ſcathe *to us.*] *Scathe* is harm, miſchief. So, in *Soliman and Perſeda*, 1599;

"Millions of men oppreſt with ruin and *ſcath*." STEEVENS.

Enter two Murderers.

But ſoft, here come my executioners.—
How now, my hardy, ſtout, reſolved mates?
Are you now going to diſpatch this thing *?

1. *Murd.* We are, my lord; and come to have the warrant,
That we may be admitted where he is.

Glo. Well thought upon, I have it here about me:
[*gives the warrant.*
When you have done, repair to Croſby-place.
But, ſirs, be ſudden in the execution,
Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;
For Clarence is well ſpoken, and, perhaps,
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark him.

1. *Murd.* Tut, tut, my lord, we will not ſtand to prate,
Talkers are no good doers; be aſſur'd,
We go to uſe our hands, and not our tongues.

Glo. Your eyes drop mill-ſtones, when fools' eyes drop tears [4]:
I like you, lads;—about your buſineſs ſtraight;
Go, go, diſpatch.

1. *Murd.* We will, my noble lord. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV.

The ſame. A Room in the Tower.

Enter CLARENCE, *and* BRAKENBURY.

Brak. Why looks your grace ſo heavily to-day?

Clar. O, I have paſs'd a miſerable night,

* —*to diſpatch* this thing?] Seagars in his *Legend of Richard the Third*, ſpeaking of the *murder* of Gloſter's nephews, makes him ſay,

"What though he refuſed, yet be ſure you may,
"That other were as ready to take in hand *that thing*."

The coincidence was, I believe, merely accidental. MALONE.

4 *Your eyes drop mill-ſtones, when fools' eyes drop tears:*] This, I believe, is a proverbial expreſſion. It is uſed again in the tragedy of *Cæſar and Pompey*, 1607:

"Men's eyes muſt *mill-ſtones* drop, when fools ſhed tears."

STEEVENS.

So

So full of fearful dreams, of ugly ſights[5],
That, as I am a chriſtian faithful man[6],
I would not ſpend another ſuch a night,
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days;
So full of diſmal terror was the time.

Brak. What was your dream, my lord? I pray you, tell me.

Clar. Methought, that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to croſs to Burgundy*;
And, in my company, my brother Gloſter:
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches; thence we look'd toward England,
And cited up a thouſand heavy times,
During the wars of York and Lancaſter
That had befall'n us. As we pac'd along
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,
Methought, that Gloſter ſtumbled; and, in falling,
Struck me, that thought to ſtay him, over-board,
Into the tumbling billows of the main.
O Lord! methought, what pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noiſe of water in mine ears!
What ſights of ugly death[7] within mine eyes!
Methought, I ſaw a thouſand fearful wrecks;
A thouſand men, that fiſhes gnaw'd upon;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,

[5] *So full of fearful dreams, of ugly ſights,*] Thus the folio. The quarto, 1598:

So full of ugly ſights, of ghaſtly dreams. MALONE.

[6] — *faithful man,*] Not an infidel. JOHNSON.

* — *to Burgundy*;] Clarence was deſirous to aſſiſt his ſiſter Margaret againſt the French king, who invaded her jointure-lands after the death of her huſband, Charles duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the ſiege of Nancy, in January 1476-7. Iſabel the wife of Clarence being then dead, (taken off by poiſon, adminiſtered by the duke of Gloſter, as it has been conjectured,) he wiſhed to have married Mary the daughter and heir of the duke of Burgundy; but the match was oppoſed by Edward, who hoped to have obtained her for his brother-in-law, Lord Rivers; and this circumſtance has been ſuggeſted as the principal cauſe of the breach between Edward and Clarence. Mary of Burgundy however choſe a huſband for herſelf, having married in Auguſt 1477 Maximilian, ſon of the Emperor Frederick. MALONE.

[7] *What ſights of ugly death*—] Thus the folio. The quarto has—What ugly ſights of death. MALONE.

Ineſtimable ſtones, unvalued jewels[8],
All ſcatter'd in the bottom of the ſea.
Some lay in dead men's ſkulls; and, in thoſe holes,
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept,
(As 'twere in ſcorn of eyes) reflecting gems,
That woo'd the ſlimy bottom[9] of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay ſcatter'd by.

Brak. Had you ſuch leiſure in the time of death,
To gaze upon theſe ſecrets of the deep?

Clar. Methought, I had; and often did I ſtrive
To yield the ghoſt: but ſtill the envious flood
Kept in my ſoul[1], and would not let it forth
To ſeek the empty, vaſt, and wand'ring air[2];
But ſmother'd it within my panting bulk[3],
Which almoſt burſt to belch it in the ſea.

Brak. Awak'd you not with this ſore agony?

Clar. O, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life;
O, then began the tempeſt to my ſoul!
I paſs'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that grim ferryman[4] which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.
The firſt that there did greet my ſtranger ſoul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick;
Who cry'd aloud,—*What ſcourge for perjury*
Can this dark monarchy afford falſe Clarence?

[8] *Ineſtimable ſtones*, unvalued *jewels*,] *Unvalu'd* is here uſed for *invaluable*. So, in Lovelace's *Poſthumous Poems*, 1659:

"— the *unvalew'd* robe ſhe wore,
"Made infinite lay lovers to adore." MALONE.

[9] *That* woo'd *the ſlimy bottom*—] By ſeeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now ſay, to *ogle* it. JOHNSON.

[1] Kept *in my ſoul*,] Thus the quarto. The folio—*Stopt* in. MALONE.

[2] *To ſeek the empty, waſt, and wand'ring air*;] Perhaps we ſhould point thus:

To ſeek the empty vaſt, and wand'ring air.

that is, to ſeek the immenſe vacuity. *Vaſt* is uſed by our authour as a ſubſtantive in other places. See Vol. IV. p. 122, n. 4.

Seek is the reading of the quarto, 1598; the folio has *find*. MALONE.

[3] —*within my panting* bulk,] *Bulk* is often uſed by Shakſpeare and his contemporaries for *body*. So again, in *Hamlet*:

"——— it did ſeem to ſhatter all his *bulk*,
"And end his being." MALONE.

[4] —grim *ferryman*—] The folio reads—*ſour* ferryman. STEEV.

And

And ſo he vaniſh'd: Then came wand'ring by
A ſhadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood; and he ſhriek'd out aloud,—
Clarence is come,—falſe, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence[5],—
That ſtabb'd me in the field by Tewkſbury;—
Seize on him, furies, take him to your torments!—
With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me[6], and howled in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that, with the very noiſe,
I trembling wak'd, and, for a ſeaſon after,
Could not believe but that I was in hell;
Such terrible impreſſion made my dream.

Brak. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted you;
I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

Clar. O, Brakenbury, I have done theſe things,—
That now give evidence againſt my ſoul,—
For Edward's ſake; and, ſee, how he requites me!—
O God! if my deep prayers cannot appeaſe thee[7],
But thou wilt be aveng'd on my miſdeeds,
Yet execute thy wrath on me alone:
O, ſpare my guiltleſs wife *, and my poor children!—
I pray thee, gentle keeper, ſtay by me[8];

[5] — fleeting, *perjur'd Clarence,*] *Fleeting* is the ſame as *changing ſides.* JOHNSON.

So, in *Antony and Cleopatra:*

" ——— now the *fleeting* moon
" No planet is of mine."

Clarence broke his oath with the earl of Warwick, and joined the army of his brother king Edward IV. STEEVENS.

See p. 371. MALONE.

[6] — *a legion of foul fiends*
Environ'd me, &c.] Milton ſeems to have thought on this paſſage where he is deſcribing the midnight ſufferings of *Our Saviour,* in the 4th book of *Paradiſe Regain'd:*

" —— nor yet ſtay'd the terror there,
" Infernal ghoſts, and helliſh furies, round
" Environ'd thee, ſome howl'd, ſome yell'd, ſome ſhriek'd—".
STEEVENS.

[7] *O God! if my deep prayers,* &c.] This and the three following lines are found in the folio, but not in the quarto. MALONE.

* — *my guiltleſs wife,*] The wife of Clarence died before he was apprehended and confined in the Tower. See p. 487, n. *. MALONE.

[8] *I pray thee, gentle keeper,* &c.] So the quarto, 1598. The folio reads:
Keeper, I pry'thee, ſit by me a while. MALONE.

My

My ſoul is heavy, and I fain would ſleep.

Brak. I will, my lord; God give your grace good reſt!— [Clarence *repoſes himſelf on a chair.*

Sorrow breaks ſeaſons, and repoſing hours[9],
Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.
Princes have but their titles for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil[1];
And, for unfelt imaginations,
They often feel a world of reſtleſs cares[2]:
So that, between their titles, and low name,
There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

1. *Murd.* Ho! who's here?

Brak. What would'ſt thou, fellow? and how cam'ſt thou hither?

1. *Murd.* I would ſpeak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.

Brak. What, ſo brief?

2. *Murd.* O, ſir, 'tis better to be brief, than tedious:— Shew him our commiſſion, talk no more.

[*A paper is delivered to* Brackenbury, *who reads it.*

[9] *Sorrow breaks ſeaſons*, &c.] In the common editions, the keeper is made to hold the dialogue with Clarence till this line. And here Brakenbury enters, pronouncing theſe words; which ſeem to me a reflection naturally reſulting from the foregoing converſation, and therefore continued to be ſpoken by the ſame perſon, as it is accordingly in the firſt edition. POPE.

The keeper introduced in the quarto 1598, was, in fact, Brackenbury, who was lieutenant of the Tower. There can be no doubt therefore that the text, which is regulated according to the quarto, is right. MALONE.

[1] *Princes have but their titles for their glories,*
An outward honour for an inward toil;] The firſt line may be underſtood in this ſenſe, *The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles*: but it would more impreſs the purpoſe of the ſpeaker, and correſpond better with the following lines, if it were read:
Princes have but their titles for their troubles. JOHNSON.

[2] — *for unfelt imaginations,*
They often feel a world of reſtleſs cares:] They often ſuffer real miſeries for *imaginary* and *unreal* gratifications. JOHNSON.

Brak.

Brak. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
The noble duke of Clarence to your hands:—
I will not reaſon what is meant hereby,
Becauſe I will be guiltleſs of the meaning.
Here are the keys;—there ſits the duke aſleep[3]:
I'll to the king; and ſignify to him,
That thus I have reſign'd to you my charge.

1. *Murd.* You may, ſir; 'tis a point of wiſdom: Fare you well. [*Exit* Brakenbury.

2. *Murd.* What, ſhall we ſtab him as he ſleeps?

1. *Murd.* No; he'll ſay, 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes.

2. *Murd.* When he wakes! why, fool, he ſhall never wake until the great judgment day.

1. *Murd.* Why, then he'll ſay, we ſtabb'd him ſleeping.

2. *Murd.* The urging of that word, judgment, hath bred a kind of remorſe in me.

1. *Murd.* What? art thou afraid?

2. *Murd.* Not to kill him, having a warrant for it; but to be damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant can defend me.

1. *Murd.* I thought, thou had'ſt been reſolute.

2. *Murd.* So I am, to let him live.

1. *Murd.* I'll back to the duke of Gloſter, and tell him ſo.

2. *Murd.* Nay, I pr'ythee, ſtay a little: I hope, this holy humour of mine[4] will change; it was wont to hold me but while one would tell twenty.

1. *Murd.* How doſt thou feel thyſelf now?

[3] *Here are the keys*, &c.] So the quarto, 1598. The folio reads: There lies the duke aſleep, and there the keys. MALONE.

[4] —*this* holy *humour of mine*—] Thus the early quarto. The folio has—this *paſſionate* humour of mine, for which the modern editors have ſubſtituted *compaſſionate*, unneceſſarily. *Paſſionate*, though not ſo good an epithet as that which is furniſhed by the quarto, is ſufficiently intelligible. See Vol. IV. p. 487, n. *.

The ſecond murderer's next ſpeech proves that *holy* was the authour's word. The player editors probably changed it, as they did many others, on account of the Statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. A little lower, they, from the ſame apprehenſion, omitted the word, *'faith*. MALONE.

2. *Murd.*

2. *Murd.* 'Faith, ſome certain dregs of conſcience are yet within me.

1. *Murd.* Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

2. *Murd.* Come, he dies; I had forgot the reward.

1. *Murd.* Where's thy conſcience now?

2. *Murd.* In the duke of Gloſter's purſe.

1. *Murd.* So, when he opens his purſe to give us our reward, thy conſcience flies out.

2. *Murd.* 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few, or none, will entertain it.

1. *Murd.* What, if it come to thee again?

2. *Murd.* I'll not meddle with it, it is a dangerous thing, it makes a man a coward; a man cannot ſteal, but it accuſeth him; a man cannot ſwear, but it checks him; a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him: 'Tis a bluſhing ſhame-faced ſpirit, that mutinies in a man's boſom; it fills one full of obſtacles: it made me once reſtore a purſe of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turn'd out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man, that means to live well, endeavours to truſt to himſelf, and live without it.

1. *Murd.* 'Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, perſuading me not to kill the duke.

2. *Murd.* Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him not: he would inſinuate with thee[5], but to make thee ſigh.

1. *Murd.* I am ſtrong-fram'd[6], he cannot prevail with me.

[5] *Take the devil in thy mind, and believe* him *not*: he *would inſinuate with thee*, &c.] One villain ſays, *Conſcience* is at his elbows, perſuading him not to kill the duke. The other ſays, take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, *into thy mind*, who will be a match for thy conſcience, and believe it not, &c. It is plain then, that *him* in both places in the text ſhould be *it*, namely, conſcience. WARBURTON.

Shakſpeare ſo frequently uſes both theſe pronouns indiſcriminately, that no correction is neceſſary. STEEVENS.

In the *Merchant of Venice* we have a long *dialogue* between Launcelot, his *Conſcience*, and the Devil. But though conſcience were not here perſonified, Shakſpeare would have uſed *him* inſtead of *it*. He does ſo in almoſt every page of theſe plays. MALONE.

[6] *I am ſtrong*-fram'd,—] Thus the folio. The quarto reads—I am ſtrong *in fraud*. MALONE.

2. *Murd.*

2. *Murd.* Spoke like a tall fellow [7], that reſpects his reputation. Come, ſhall we fall to work?

1. *Murd.* Take him over the coſtard [8] with the hilts of thy ſword, and then throw him into the malmſey-butt, in the next room.

2. *Murd.* O excellent device! and make a ſop of him.

1. *Murd.* Soft! he wakes.

2. *Murd.* Strike.

1. *Murd.* No, we'll reaſon [9] with him.

Clar. Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

1. *Murd.* You ſhall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

Clar. In God's name, what art thou?

1. *Murd.* A man, as you are.

Clar. But not, as I am, royal.

1. *Murd.* Nor you, as we are, loyal.

Clar. Thy voice is thunder, but thy looks are humble.

1. *Murd.* My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.

Clar. How darkly, and how deadly doſt thou ſpeak!
Your eyes do menace me: Why look you pale?
Who ſent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

Both Murd. To, to, to,—

Clar. To murder me?

Both Murd. Ay, ay.

Clar. You ſcarcely have the hearts to tell me ſo,
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

1. *Murd.* Offended us you have not, but the king.

Clar. I ſhall be reconcil'd to him again.

2. *Murd.* Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

Clar. Are you call'd forth from out a world of men [1],
To

[7] *Spoke like a* tall *fellow,*] The meaning of *tall*, in old Engliſh, is *ſtout, daring, fearleſs*, and *ſtrong*. JOHNSON.

[8] —*the* coſtard—] i. e. the head. See Vol. II. p. 350, n. 4. STEEVENS.

[9] —*we'll reaſon*—] We'll talk. JOHNSON.
See Vol. I. p. 136, n. 5. MALONE.

[1] *Are you* call'd *forth from out a world of men,*] I think it may be better read: *Are ye* cull'd *forth*—. JOHNSON.
The folio reads:
Are you *drawn* forth *among* a world of men.

I adhere

To ſlay the innocent? What is my offence?
Where is the evidence that doth accuſe me?
What lawful queſt[2] have given their verdict up
Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd
The bitter ſentence of poor Clarence' death?
Before I be convict by courſe of law *,
To threaten me with death, is moſt unlawful.
I charge you, as you hope to have redemption[3]
By Chriſt's dear blood ſhed for our grievous ſins,
That you depart, and lay no hands on me;
The deed you undertake is damnable.

1. *Murd.* What we will do, we do upon command.

2. *Murd.* And he, that hath commanded, is our king.

Clar. Erroneous vaſſal! the great King of kings
Hath in the table of his law commanded,
That thou ſhalt do no murder; Wilt thou then
Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?
Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand,
To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

2. *Murd.* And that ſame vengeance doth he hurl on thee,
For falſe forſwearing, and for murder too:

I adhere to the reading now in the text. So, in *Nobody and Somebody*, 1598:

" Art thou *call'd* forth amongſt a thouſand men,
" To miniſter this ſoveraigne antidote?" STEEVENS.

The reading of the text is that of the quarto, 1598. MALONE.

2 *What lawful* queſt—] *Queſt* is *inqueſt* or jury. JOHNSON.

* *Before I be convict*, &c.] Shakſpeare has followed the current tale of his own time, in ſuppoſing that Clarence was impriſoned by Edward, and put to death by order of his brother Richard, without trial or condemnation. But the truth is, that he was tried, and found guilty by his Peers, and a bill of attainder was afterwards paſſed againſt him. According to Sir Thomas More, his death was *commanded* by *Edward*; but he does not *aſſert* that the duke of Gloſter was the inſtrument. Polydore Virgil ſays, though he talked with ſeveral perſons who lived at the time, he never could get any certain account of the motives that induced Edward to put his brother to death. See p. 487, n. *. MALONE.

3 — *as you hope* to have redemption—] The folio reads—as you hope *for any goodneſs*. STEEVENS.

This arbitrary alteration was made, and the ſubſequent line was omitted, by the editors of the folio, to avoid the penalty of the Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 21. MALONE.

Thou